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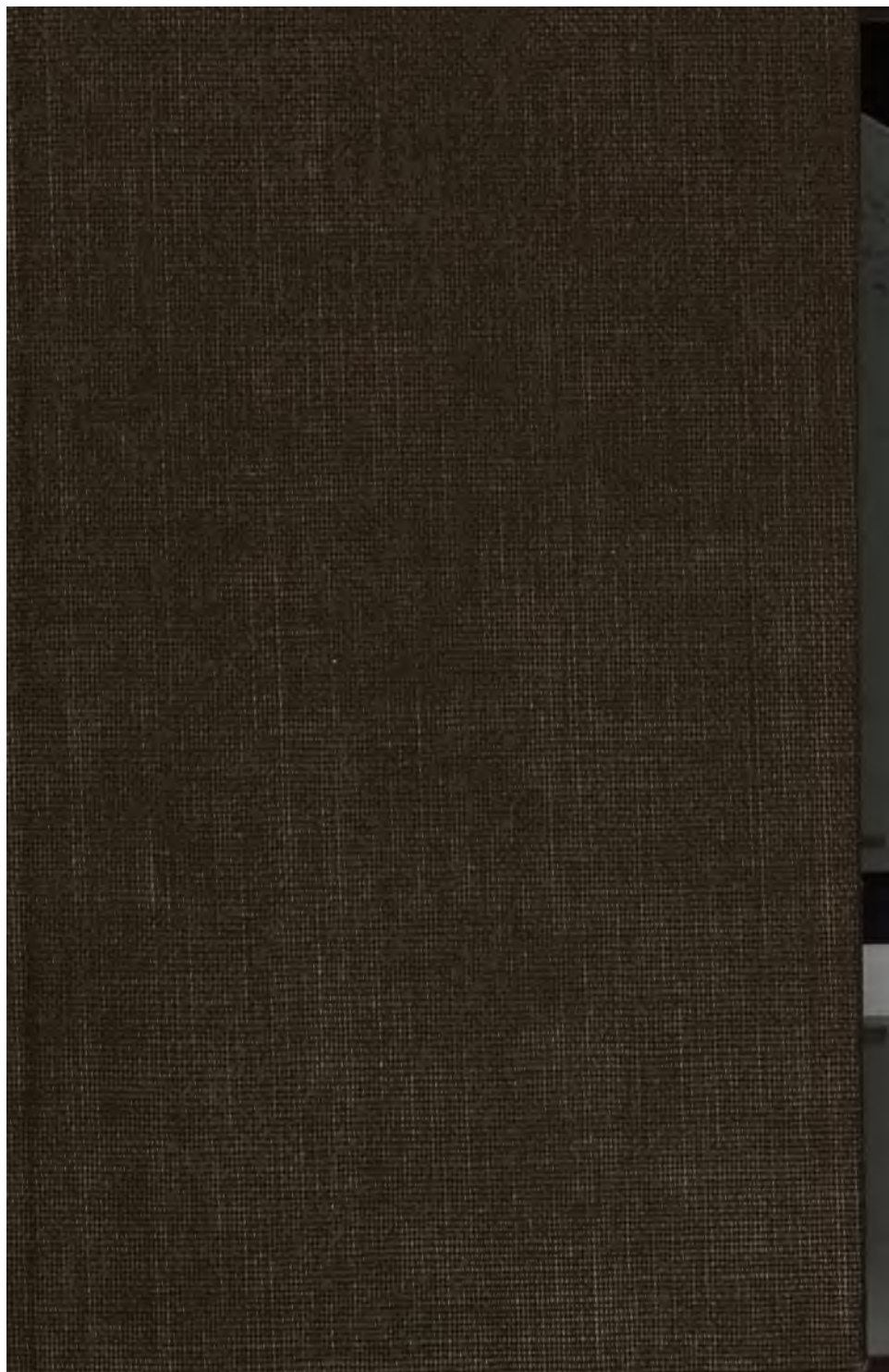
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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THOMAS CHALKLEY,  
A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE  
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

~~~~~  
"Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth  
in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful; but his delight is  
in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth he meditate both day and night." —  
PSALM i. 1, 2. ~~~~~

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1866.



## TO THE READER.

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THE Christian experiences of the faithful being useful to direct such as are desirous of following them in the path of true religion and virtue, and their good examples shining with the greatest clearness, when they have, with the flesh, put off all human infirmities; justice to their memory, and a concern for the benefit of their survivors, demand our grateful remembrance of them, and the contributing of our endeavors to render their labors useful to posterity.

These considerations engage us to preface the writings of this our esteemed friend and elder in the truth, with this testimony concerning him.

He was a member of our Monthly Meeting above forty years, so that some of us had opportunities of being intimately acquainted with him, and of knowing his fidelity and diligence in promoting the cause of truth and the edification of the church of Christ; this having been the principal engagement and concern of his mind, and which he preferred to any other consideration, as will evidently appear to those

who with an honest and unprejudiced intention peruse the journal of his life and travels.

By this it will appear, that he was in the early part of his life, sensibly affected with the visitation of divine life and grace, and by adhering thereto was preserved from the vanities and follies which often divert and alienate the minds of youth from a due remembrance and awful regard of their Creator. Thus he was enabled to bear a testimony of Christian patience and self-denial in his youthful days, and by keeping under that exercise, as he advanced in years, attained to further knowledge and experience in the work of religion, in which he had a sight of the necessity of keeping in a state of humility, and of bearing the cross of Christ, which mortified him to the world. The loss which many sustain by the anxious pursuit of the lawful things thereof, appearing to him, he was concerned to avoid it, and, in obedience to the precept of Christ, to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, having faith in his promise, that all things necessary for him should be added.

Thus the love of God influencing his mind, and opening his understanding, he became concerned for the general good of mankind, and received a gift of the ministry of the gospel of Christ before he had attained the age of twenty-one years; in the public exercise of which, he soon after travelled through many parts of England, and into Scotland. In the year 1697 he came to visit Friends in this



and the adjacent provinces of America, where his ministry and conversation were to the comfort and edification of the faithful, as some of us can with satisfaction declare from our knowledge and remembrance of him at that time; and the near fellowship and union he then had with Friends here, we believe contributed to his more speedy determination of settling among us, which he afterwards thought it his duty to do, though leaving his parents and relations was no small cross to him, being of a dutiful and affectionate disposition.

After fixing his residence among us, he persevered in his concern and labor for the edification of the churches, and gathering people to faith and dependence on the inward teachings of Christ, and for that purpose only he travelled many long journeys and voyages through the several English colonies on this continent, and most of the islands in the West Indies, and in Europe, through England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Friesland, and several parts of Germany, and the adjacent northern kingdoms. In many of these places his ministry and religious labors were blessed with the desired success, of which there are yet some witnesses living, and others, who were convinced of the principles of Truth by his means, became serviceable members of the church, and continued therein to the end of their lives.

But as the wise king Solomon formerly observed, that one event cometh to the righteous and to the

wicked, so it happened to this good man, who met with various losses and disappointments in his temporal estate; after which, the circumstances of his affairs engaged him to undertake some business, in the management of which he was obliged to cross the seas frequently. This, however, did not abate his zeal and religious care to make use of all opportunities of visiting the meetings of Friends when among them, and of calling, at other times, to such who might be accounted as the outcasts of Israel, and the dispersed of Judah, or as sheep not yet of the fold of Christ; and his services of that kind are worthy to be commemorated, having been often productive of good effects.

His patience was remarkable in disappointments and afflictions, of which he had a large share; and his meekness, humility, and circumspection in the general course of his life and conversation, were conspicuous and exemplary. As he frequently exhorted and admonished others to the observation and practice of the many excellent precepts and rules of Christ, our Lord and lawgiver, and more especially those expressed in his sermon on the mount, which contains the sum of our moral and religious duties, so he manifested himself to be one of that number whom Christ compared to the wise builder, who laid a sure foundation; so that his building stood unshaken by the various floods and winds of tribulations and temptations which he met with, both from within and without.

He was a lover of unity amongst brethren, and careful to promote and maintain it, showing the example of a meek, courteous, and loving deportment, not only to Friends, but to all others with whom he had conversation or dealings; so that it may be truly said, few have lived more universally beloved and respected among us. It was manifest that this did not proceed from a desire of being popular, or to be seen of man; for his love and regard to peace did not divert him from the discharge of his duty in a faithful testimony to those who professed the truth, that they ought to be careful to maintain good works. He was often concerned zealously to incite and press Friends to the exercise of good order and discipline, established in the wisdom of Truth, by admonishing, warning, and timely treating with such as fell short of their duty therein, and by testifying against those who, after loving and brotherly care and endeavors, could not be brought to the sense and practice of their duty; and thereby he sometimes shared the ill-will and resentment of such persons.

The several essays which he wrote on religious subjects while at sea, are further proofs that his mind was principally engaged in the great business and concern of religion; and as he continued under the same engagement to the end, we are fully persuaded the words with which he concluded his last public testimony in the island of Tortola, may be truly and properly applied to him; that he had fought a good

fight, and had kept the faith, and, we doubt not, he now enjoys a crown of righteousness.

Much more might be truly said of his integrity, faithfulness, and worth, but we do not think it necessary; our chief intention being to express our respectful remembrance of him, and our unity with his labors and services, and in order to assure those to whom he was not personally known, of the truth of what he hath himself written of his life and travels. We believe, as he was a man signally influenced with the spirit of universal love and good will to mankind, this was his chief motive for writing; and we are sincerely desirous that his good design may be answered, and that the glory of every good and perfect work may be attributed to that divine power alone, which can qualify others to supply the places of those faithful ministers and servants of Christ who have been of late years removed from among us, and are of that number, of whom it is written, "Blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

*Signed on behalf and by appointment of the Monthly Meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, the 28th day of the Second month, 1749, by*

ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THOMAS CHALKLEY.

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CHAPTER I.

1675-1699.

Birth and Education—Youthful Follies—Early Visitations—  
Broken Covenants—Change of Heart—Trial in regard to  
Plain Language—Pressed on Board a Man-of-War—Distinc-  
tion between the Voice of Christ and of Satan—Appears in  
the Ministry—Expiration of Apprenticeship—Visits Sundry  
Meetings—Death of his Mother—Travels into the North of  
England and Scotland—Visit to America—Incidents of Voyage  
—Lands in Maryland—Goes into Virginia—Pennsylvania—  
New Jersey—Rhode Island—Boston—Nantucket—Massachu-  
setts—Returns through New York to Pennsylvania—Mary-  
land—Virginia.

HAVING great cause to acknowledge the regard  
and protection of divine Providence in the several  
stages of my life, I think it may be of service to  
others to leave behind me the following account of  
my life and travels.

I was born on the 3d day of the Third month, 1675,  
in Southwark, and descended of honest and religious

(11)

parents, who were very careful of me, and brought me up in the fear of the Lord; and oftentimes counselled me to sobriety, and reproved me for wantonness; and that light spirit which is incident to youth, they were careful to nip in the bud: so that I have cause to bless God, through Christ, on the behalf of my tender parents.

I may not forget the dealings of God with me in my very tender years. When between eight and ten years of age, my father and mother sent me nearly two miles to school, to Richard Scoryer, in the suburbs of London. I went mostly by myself, and many and various were the exercises I went through, by beatings and stonings along the streets, being distinguished to the people by the badge of plainness which my parents put upon me, of what profession I was: divers telling me, "it was no more sin to kill me than it was to kill a dog."

About this time the Lord began to work strongly on my mind by his grace, insomuch that I could not forbear reproving those lads who would take the name of the Lord God in their mouths in vain, reminding them of the third commandment, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain;" and of Christ's saying, "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the day of judgment;" for which I was mocked and derided by some, and others would sometimes refrain from such bad words when I reproved them.

One time I remember being amongst some men, one of whom I had reprov'd, and he told the rest of it, and turned to me, and said, "that I was no Christian," and asked me, "whether I said the Lord's Prayer?" I asked him, if he said it. He replied yes. I then asked him, how he could call God father, and be so wicked as to swear and take God's name in vain; which I had heard him often do; and I told him what Christ said to the Jews, "Ye are of your father, the devil, because his works ye do;" and that those that did the devil's work could not truly call God father, according to Christ's doctrine. Being convicted in their consciences that what I said was true, they were all silent, and wondered that I, being so young, should speak in such a manner; in which I remember I had great peace and good satisfaction; and from thenceforth these men let me alone.

Notwithstanding I hated to hear wicked words, I loved play exceedingly, being persuaded that there was no harm in that, if we used no bad words. One time I was at play at a neighbor's house with the children, and in the midst of my sport I was reached with strong conviction, insomuch that I could not forbear weeping. The children's mother observing that I wept, said, "Why do you weep?" I told her I could not tell, except it was because I was a naughty boy. "Oh!" said she, "don't believe him, for that's the devil tells you so, for you are the best boy in all our street." But I knew I was told the truth by conviction, and that she was mistaken: for I plainly



understood by clear conviction, and by the holy Scriptures, which I had been trained up in the reading of, that I was too vain and wanton; for I loved music, dancing, and playing at cards, and too much delighted therein, and was followed with the judgments of God therefor in the secret of my soul. What I did in those sports and games I always took care to do out of the sight, and without the knowledge, of my tender parents; for I was afraid of their reproofs and corrections, the which I was sure to have, if they had any intelligence of it.

I remember that, unknown to my parents, I had bought a pack of cards, with intent to make use of them when I went to see my relations in the country, where there was liberty in the family so to do, at a place called Woodford, about seven miles from London, where I got leave sometimes to go. At the time called Christmas, I went to see them, and five miles on my way went to a meeting, at a town called Wanstead; at which meeting a minister of Christ declared against the evil of gaming, and particularly of cards; and that the time which people pretend to keep holy for Christ's sake, many of them spend mostly in wickedness, sports, and games; even some pretending to be religious; and, generally speaking, more sin and evil is committed in this time than in the like space of time in all the year besides; so that the devil is served instead of honoring Christ. From this meeting at Wanstead I went to the house of my relations, where the parson of the next parish lodged that night,

who used to play cards with them sometimes. The time drawing near that we were to go to our games, my uncle called to the doctor, as he styled him, to me, and to my cousin, to come and take a game at cards; at which motion I had strong convictions upon me not to do it, as being evil; and I secretly cried to the Lord to keep me faithful to him; and lifting up my eyes, I saw a Bible lie in the window, at the sight of which I was glad. I took it, and sat down, and read to myself, greatly rejoicing that I was preserved out of the snare. Then my uncle called again, and said, "Come, doctor, you and I, my wife and daughter, will have a game at cards, for I see my cousin is better disposed." Then he looked upon me, and said, "He was better disposed also." So their sport for that time was spoiled, and mine in that practice for ever; for I never, as I remember, played with them more, but as soon as I came home, offered my new and untouched pack of cards to the fire. I am certain the use of them is of evil consequence, and draws away the mind from heaven and heavenly things; for which reason all Christians ought to shun them as engines of Satan; and music and dancing having generally the same tendency, ought therefore to be refrained from. The sentiments of the Waldenses, a people in great esteem among Protestants, are worthy the consideration of all Christians; which were, "That as many paces, or steps, as a man or woman takes in the dance, so many paces or steps they take towards hell."

I very well remember the work of God upon my

soul, when I was about ten years of age ; and particularly at a certain time when I had been rebelling against God and my parents, in vanity and lightness : and as I had offended both, so I was corrected by both : for I had not only felt the anger of my parents, but the Lord frowned upon me, insomuch that I trembled exceedingly, and was as though I heard a voice say to me, “ What will become of thee this night, if I should take thy life from thee ? ” At which I was amazed, and in great fear. Then I covenanted with God, that if he would be pleased to spare my life,—for I thought God would have taken it from me that very moment,—I would be more sober, and mind his fear more than I had done before.

Nevertheless, I broke covenant with God my Maker, my adversary tempting me so to do, telling me I was but a child, and it was natural for children to be brisk and play, and that God would wink at my childhood and youth, and it was time enough for me when a man to become religious. But still God followed me with his chastising rod, and often put me in mind of my covenant which I made with him in my distress ; and that he had granted the request I then made to him ; and unless I would take up a cross to my own corrupt will and inclinations, he should take me out of the world. Then, oh, then ! I cried, “ Lord, help, or I die ! Save me, or I perish for ever ! I cannot keep thy covenant, nor do thy will, without thy help and assistance ! ” And indeed, if the Lord had not helped, I had been undone for ever.

I continued bowed down in my mind, calling on the Lord; thinking and meditating on heaven and heavenly things: but as I am sensible I had an inward enemy that always sought my hurt and overthrow, I have cause to bless God, who by his grace, as mine eye was turned to it, helped me to do his will, as he was pleased to manifest it to me, so that thereby some change was wrought on me both inwardly and outwardly.

I then began to delight in reading and sobriety, which before were irksome to me: and when I read the holy Scriptures, I desired that God would open them to my understanding, which he did many times to my edification. I also begged earnestly of the Lord, that he would be pleased to be with me, and make me like his children and servants, of whom I read in the holy Scriptures, who faithfully served him all their days. And when I read of the crucifixion of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, it would break my soul into tenderness. I thought it was enough to awaken and humble any soul that was well meaning, and had any sense of the power, love, and grace of Christ. Thus I went on for several years, feeling that peace which passeth natural understanding, which many times accompanied my poor and needy soul: and being advanced to about fourteen or fifteen years of age, I remember that I used to shun the cross of speaking in the plain language, which I always read in the holy Scriptures, to those whom I conversed with, except my father and mother,

who would not allow me to speak otherwise. I was convicted in my conscience that it was not right to play the hypocrite after that manner; and on a certain time I had occasion to speak with an officer, a great man in our neighborhood, and my heart moved within me for fear I should shun the cross of Christ; for it was Christ's language to all, as we may read in the New Testament; and all the Scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations, speak thee and thou to a single person.

So I took up the cross, and said thee to him; and he was much affronted, and said, "Thee! what dost thou thee me for?" I soberly asked him if he did not say thee to his Maker in his prayers? and whether he was too good, or too great, to be spoken to in the same language in which he addressed the Almighty? To this he made no reply, but seemed to fall from his passion into admiration, as one smitten in himself. He bore me respect ever after; and I greatly rejoiced that I was preserved faithful. Though it may look a little thing to some, yet I found it good, as the Scripture saith, not to despise the day of small things.

About the twentieth year of my age I was pressed and carried on board of a vessel belonging to a man-of-war. I was put down into the hold in the dark, not having anything to lie upon but casks; and what made it worse to me, I was among wicked, debauched men; and as we were shut up in darkness, so was their conversation dark and hellish. In the morning, for which I longed more than the watchman, the lieutenant called us up on deck, and examined us, whether

we were willing to serve the king? He called me to him, and asked me, if I was willing to serve his majesty? I answered, that I was willing to serve him in my business, and according to my conscience; but as for war or fighting, Christ had forbidden it in his excellent sermon on the mount; and for that reason I could not bear arms, or be instrumental to destroy or kill men. Then the lieutenant looked on me and on the people, and said, "Gentlemen, what shall we do with this fellow? he swears he will not fight." The commander of the vessel made answer, "No, no, he will neither swear nor fight." Upon which they turned me on shore. I was thankful that I was delivered out of their hands; and my tender parents were glad to see me again.

As I grew in years, the world began to take too much root in me; and my unwearied enemy would tell me that it was lawful enough; and indeed I see that he hurts many with lawful things, with whom he knoweth unlawful things will not take; and here I had been lost, if God had not been gracious to me. But He, in whose presence I delighted, withdrew, and deprived me of that enjoyment which was grateful and comfortable above all things to my soul. Then did I pray with tears, Oh, that it might be with me as it was at other times before! and I was willing to let the world go, rather than grace and God's glory. The Psalmist saith, "No good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly."

About this time there was a great concern on my

mind, rightly to distinguish between the voice of Christ and the whisperings of Satan; and thus it opened to me: that Christ, the truth, always speaketh good and for a good end, and that there is divine life to the soul in this speaking; but the devil never speaks good, unless sometimes for a bad end, and then not good in reality, only colored with good or a fair show.

Keeping under this exercise, the Lord appeared to me again, and many times refreshed my heart with his goodness. When I was in my business amongst men, I witnessed the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, to be near me; which was more to me than all the world, or the riches, glory, and beauty of it. The love of God being so sweet to my soul and spirit; my breathings, prayers, and supplications were to the Lord, that my neighbors, acquaintance, and relations might also partake of the like precious faith and love which I enjoyed; and that the children of men might answer that great and good end for which the Lord created them; which is, that glory, honor, and praise might ascend and be given to Him.

I had such a sense and fear of dishonoring God, that I often, with tears, cried, "Never let me live to dishonor thee. Oh! it had been better for me that I had never been born, than that I should live to dishonor thee, or wilfully reproach the name of Christ, who, with the Father, is only worthy of divine honor."

In this concern I felt the gospel power of our Lord Jesus Christ to work upon my soul, and the Word of



God was as a seed in my heart, growing and opening in me, speaking to me, and making my understanding fruitful in the things of his kingdom; and in that ability which was given me of God, through his grace and holy Spirit, I exhorted people to repentance and amendment of life; and I always humbly desired the help and divine influence of God's eternal Word therein. Oh! I did fervently pray that I might minister the gospel in the power of Jesus; for I clearly discerned, in the light of the Son of God, that all ministering out of Christ's power was neither edifying nor efficacious unto souls: therefore I did earnestly beseech God for the continuance of the gift of his Spirit, that I might be enabled to preach the gospel in the power of Christ Jesus. The concern that was upon me on this account at that time, is hard to be expressed in words.

The latter end of the year 1695, my father sent me into Essex on some business, and when I had accomplished it, I visited some meetings of Friends there, and my mind being much affected with the apprehensions of an impending storm,—the nation being about this time threatened with an invasion from France, in favor of the late King James, so that there was expectation of much bloodshed and confusion in the land,—I wrote a letter to my parents, and another to Friends of the Evening Meeting kept weekly at my father's house, expressing my thankfulness to the Almighty, in the remembrance of the many precious visitations of divine love and favor we had been

partakers of, uniting our hearts to him, and to one another; and my earnest prayers and supplications, that we might be preserved in true love, and the unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of everlasting peace; and that the world might be made sensible of this true peace, which abounds in those who love and fear the Lord, and truly believe in the name of Jesus. Oh! surely, they would then depart from sin, and abandon iniquity, by which they incur the wrath of the Lord, and provoke the just One to anger; so that the line of confusion seems to be stretched over the city and nation, and the eyes of the faithful see it to the grief of their souls. Yet the mercy of the Lord, even of the just God, who will render a just reward to every one according to his deeds done in the body, is still handed forth to the land. Oh! that the inhabitants thereof would consider their ways, and be wise, and turn to the Lord with unfeigned repentance, while the day of mercy lasteth, before it be said, Now it is hid from thine eyes; for the Lord, even the God and Father of spirits, hath said, "My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh."

On the expiration of my apprenticeship, having served my father faithfully seven years, I entered more strongly into covenant with my heavenly Father and Master, to serve him all my days, through his assistance; and was soon after drawn forth, in the spirit and love of Christ, to visit the meetings of Friends westward from London, viz., through Surry, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Corn-

wall to the Land's-end; in which journey I was accompanied by William Hornould. At one of our meetings at Falmouth, in Cornwall, two men called gentlemen came from the inn to hear the strangers; and after meeting, they said they could take their oath that I was a Jesuit, and that they had heard me preach in a Romish chapel in France; which was utterly false, for I never was in France. Besides, had I been a Papist, or popishly inclined, which I was not, I was too young to be a Jesuit.

Indeed, I thought I was mean for the work of the ministry, but the good Remembrancer brought those truths to my remembrance, which strengthened me in the work and service of God. "The Spirit breatheth where it listeth. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise," etc. We having great peace in our labors in this journey, and being edified therewith, returned to London, after about four months absence from home.

After I had been two weeks at home, my dear mother departed this life, in a sweet frame of spirit, praising the Lord. She was one who lived the life of the righteous, and whose latter end was like theirs, and left a good report behind her, being well beloved, I think I may safely say, by all our neighbors; not only by those of our own society, but others also, to whom she was often very helpful.

I went to my calling and got a little money, a little being enough, which I was made willing to spend freely in the work and service of my great master,

Christ Jesus. About this time I was concerned to travel into the north of England, and part of Scotland, which I did in that ability God gave me; and that dispensation which I had freely received, I freely handed forth to the people, devoting my strength and time to serve Him who had done so much for me; and I had the satisfaction to find divers confessing the truth as it is in Jesus. In this journey I was from home about four-months, being mostly alone as to any yoke-fellow in that work, travelling many hundreds of miles, as far as Edinburgh, in Scotland, where our meeting was in the street, we being locked out of our meeting-house by the then power, and great numbers of people were there. This news being carried to the provost of the city, he said, "The Quakers would do more hurt out of doors than within," and he ordered Friends their key. Since which I have understood that Friends in that city have enjoyed their meetings in the meeting-house; and sometimes when the rabble have disturbed Friends, the magistrates have sent officers to disperse them.

After I had visited the churches of Christ in divers parts of England, and had many sweet seasons of God's love, and many good opportunities with my Friends and others in this nation; the word of life being declared in the simplicity of the gospel, in several places people were very open-hearted, and received the testimony of it with gladness. After I had been at my father's, and at my calling, a little after this north-country journey, I found myself en-

gaged in the love of the gospel to visit Friends in America; and having acquainted my friends and relations of my mind, they being willing to give me up, in order for the voyage, Friends of the Monthly Meeting gave me a certificate, and I had another from the meeting of the ministers in London.

My father, and several other Friends with me, took boat from London, and accompanied me to Gravesend, on the 21st of the Tenth month, 1697. I went on board the ship Josiah, Thomas Lurting, master, and sailed that day from Gravesend, and got to the Downs the next day, where we tarried some days for a fair wind; in which time several others, who were concerned in the same gospel labor, came on board, viz., Thomas Turner, William Ellis, and Aaron Atkinson. In about four days' time the wind was fair for us, and we set sail, and in a little time we got out of sight of the land; soon after which the wind was contrary, and we proceeded but a small distance for several weeks; the weather was rough and the sea boisterous, so that with the motion thereof most of the passengers were sick. In this time we lost a lad, who fell into the sea as he was drawing a bucket of water, and was drowned; the ship running swiftly, he could not be saved, although it was speedily endeavored. Several others died before we got over; but for the most part we were healthful. The Lord be praised, he was, is, and will be with those who faithfully serve him to the end.

There were three ships in company, but by the dis-

truss of weather, soon after we came out, we parted. After we had been at sea about eight weeks, on the 25th of the Twelfth month we saw two vessels astern of us. One of them came up with us, and the people hailed us, and told us they came from Bristol, and had been out ten weeks. The other came up with us next day. The people informed us they had been at sea seven weeks, and had had a dreadful time of it. She had lost part of her topmast, and her spritsail topmast was gone. She was a new ship, and never at sea before, belonging to London, and bound for Virginia, as near as we could understand. Our ship lost none of her tackling, through the great mercy of God to us, though the wind and sea were wonderfully high at times; the mate told me, I might go to sea all my life, and not see the like: he said he had been at, or used to, the sea for twenty years, and never saw it so rough and high before. We had meetings twice a week, several of which were comfortable and refreshing, to which most of the passengers, being in all about sixty, sometimes came; and several of them were affected with the sense of truth, and the Lord strengthened our faith and hope in him.

Oh! forever blessed be the living and eternal God, who kept my soul above the fear of death, hell, and the grave; for my trust was in him, and he did bear up my spirit above the waves of the sea; and in the time of tossing with tempests, I was comforted and cheerful, praising the Lord in my heart, both in the daytime and in the night season.

I was much concerned in my mind for many of the passengers, who, with the second mate and several of the seamen, were very sick, and by some were thought near unto death. I cried to the Lord, in the name of his dear Son, to heal them, and that it might be a means to convince them of the efficacy of love to, and faith in Christ Jesus, the physician of value; and the Lord was pleased to heal them. The mate of the ship desired that I would come and pray by him. I went to him, and prayed in the power and name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Lord helped him, that he said he was fine and easy, and thanked me for my love; and in a little time he recovered. Several others of the seamen and passengers I was instrumental to help in their sickness. The Lord blessed my endeavors in supplicating him on their behalf, and administering what I had to them. One of the seamen said, he was bound to pray for me as long as he lived, and that the Lord would bless me. Another of the passengers said, that I was the blessed doctor; for there was not a surgeon or doctor in the ship. I was very free to communicate of what I had to any sick person in the ship, and several blessed the Lord on my behalf. Indeed, I thought I could scarcely do enough for any that were in distress. I write not thus that I may seem popular, but with my mind bowed before the Lord. Many times in this voyage there were consultations in my mind, whether I had best write a memorandum hereof; but at last, conceiving in my



spirit that it might strengthen and excite love to God, and faith in his beloved Son, in true believers, I wrote as aforesaid; and then I was satisfied, and gave the glory to God.

Before we came to the land, we saw a ketch, which had saved the lives of some who belonged to a ship that was a little before foundered in the sea; who said also, that a fleet of New England ships which had been upon that coast, by stormy weather were forced to Barbadoes. Within a few days after, we saw the land of Virginia, and also a New England ship, which sailed from England three weeks before us. We arrived within the Capes of Virginia the 31st of the First month, 1698, and overtook the *John and Margaret*, a ship that came out of the English Channel with us,—the master, Thomas Salmon, being dead. Next day we anchored our ship at the mouth of Patuxent river, in Maryland, where our boats were hoisted out, and we were rowed up Patuxent river twelve miles, to Arthur Young's house, where we lodged that night; and for our preservation and safe arrival we blessed the Lord our God, and my spirit praised Him who lives forever and ever. Our voyage was above twelve weeks, it being then winter time, and for the most part the winds so high that the ship could carry but little sail, which made our voyage the longer.

About four days after we landed, we had a meeting near Patuxent river; and a blessed one it was! When it was ended, we went that night to Daniel Rawling's,

and from thence to the Cliffs, to Richard Johns', a Friend who came with us from England, at whose house we had a meeting, wherein God's presence was powerfully felt. We had several meetings on that side the bay called the Westernshore, and then we sailed over to the east side of Chesapeake bay, with Thomas Everden, in his sloop; went to his house and had a meeting, where many people came. Here we met with our friends, Jonathan Tyler, Henry Payton, and Henry Payton's sister. While I was at this Friend's house, one Robert Cathing, being very ill, sent for Thomas Everden, and he, not being very well, desired me to visit the sick person. So I went, and the man was near to death. Howbeit, he said he was comforted much with the visit, and that he never had received so much benefit by the parish priest, although, said he, it cost me dear for what I had; and if ever I live to get over it, by the assistance of God, I shall have nothing to do with them more. But he said he should not live three days. And before the end of three days he expired. He desired, if I were not gone, that I would be at his funeral. On notice hereof, about ten Friends went; and there were a great many people, among whom we had a good opportunity, and many weighty truths were opened to them in the love of God; and some of them were tender, and wept; and the most, if not all, I think I may say, were solid and weighty.

From Thomas Everden's we went to George Truit's, at whose house we had a meeting. This Friend and

I went to an Indian town not far from his house, because I had a desire to see these people, having never seen any of them before. When we came to the town, they were kind to us, spoke well of Friends, and said they would not cheat them, as some others did.

From George Truit's, in Maryland, we went down to Virginia; and in Accomack and Northampton counties had large meetings. I hope they were effectual to many, and I think my hope is not without ground. In those parts we had several meetings, where we were informed Friends had not had any before. And really I cannot but bless the Lord for the opportunities we had with the people; for the goodness of God, through Christ our Lord, was great, both to us and them, and with tears they did acknowledge the truth. Thomas Turner, who had hitherto accompanied me, went by the sea-side, the nearest way to Philadelphia, and afterwards I had a meeting at George Truit's brother's, and on the First day, another near the court-house, and went to Thomas Everden's, and so to Leven Denwood's, and thence to Nanticoke river, and visited Friends up the bay until I came to the river Choptank, about which there are many Friends. I went on and took the meetings till I came to Philadelphia, in and about which place, and in other parts of the province of Pennsylvania, I had many large and precious meetings, the power of the eternal Son of God being wonderful; in which power we many times blessed his name together. It was much in my heart to exhort Friends to love God, and to be

at unity one with another, without which there is no fulfilling the law or gospel. There are many Friends in that province, and many sober young people, which greatly rejoiced my spirit, so that for their encouragement the Lord opened my mouth in a prophetic manner to declare unto them the blessings which he had in store for them, on condition of their walking in the truth. Glory to God on high! untruth decays and the branches of it mightily wither; the darkness is much past, and the true light shineth gloriously in many souls. Oh! powerful praises be given to God, who is light forever.

From Philadelphia I went to Burlington and to Crosswicks, where we had a large meeting under the trees, and some were convinced of the truth. From hence I went to Shrewsbury and had meetings; then to Woodbridge, Staten Island, and Long Island, being accompanied by several Friends. On Long Island we had several large and good meetings, wherein Christ was preached freely; and after we had been two weeks there, we went on board a sloop bound for Rhode Island, and by the way we touched at Fisher's and Block islands, and on the First day morning we set sail from Block Island to Rhode Island, the Yearly Meeting being just over when we got there. That evening we sailed over to Conanicut Island, and on the Third day of the week had a meeting there. From thence we went over to Narraganset and had a meeting, and back to Rhode Island, where Ruth Fry, a sober young woman, was convinced and re-

mained a Friend till her death. Here I met with several travelling Friends. From this island we went to the main, and had a large meeting on First day, at a place called Greenwich. It was thought there were about five hundred people present, and many of them were tender. We went the same night to the island; and after several open times with Friends and others on Rhode Island, about twelve Friends of that island went with me to Warwick and Providence Yearly Meetings. We set sail about noon, and having but little wind, it was late in the night before we got there, and very dark, insomuch that we could neither see nor know one another, only by our speech, and the darkness occasioned us to run our vessel against the rocks; but at last we got ashore with our horses, and after going over a very dirty slough, entered a dismal wilderness. These difficulties occasioned our not getting to the Friend's house till the next day, which being the last day in the week, we had a meeting; and on the First day also we had a very large and satisfactory meeting. Many of us were so united in the love of God, that it was hard to part one from another.

From Providence I went to Boston and Salem, where I had meetings, and from thence to Hampton. In those parts God Almighty hath shortened the power of persecutors, and brought his righteous judgments upon them for their unrighteousness. Oh! that New England's professors might live in the sense of the same, and repent. I being a stranger and trav-

eller, could not but observe the barbarous and unchristian-like welcome I had in Boston, the metropolis of New England. Oh! what a pity it was, said one, that all of your Society were not hanged with the other four!\* In the eastern part of New England God hath a seed left of his people.

From thence I returned in order to get a passage to the isle of Nantucket; and from a place called Cushnet we sailed over to the said island in about ten hours, where we tarried several days and had five meetings. The people generally acknowledged to the truth, and many of them were tender-hearted. Some of the ancient people said, it was never known that so many people were together on the island at once. After the first meeting was over, one asked the minister, so called, whether we might have a meeting at his house? He said, with a good will, we might. This minister had some discourse with me, and asked, What induced me to come hither, being such a young man? I told him I had no other view in coming there than the good of souls, and that I could say with the apostle, a necessity was laid upon me, and woe would be to me if I did not preach the gospel. Then, said he, I wish you would preach at my house in God's name. So next day we had a meeting at his house; and on First day we had the largest meeting that we had on the island. It was thought there were above two hundred people. The

\* Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, Mary Dyer, and William Ledra, who were put to death in 1659 and 1660.

Lord in his power did make his truth known to the praise of his name. Oh! how was my soul concerned for that people! The Lord Jesus did open my heart to them, and theirs to him. They were also loving and kind to us. The chief magistrate of the island desired that I would have a meeting at his house, there being no settled meeting of Friends before I came; and after meeting he disputed with me about religion. I thought we were both but poor disputants; and cannot remember all that passed between us, but that in the close of our dispute he said, "I disputed with your friends in Barbadoes, and they told me that we must eat the spiritual flesh, and drink the spiritual blood of Christ; and," said the governor, "did ever any one hear of such flesh and blood; for is it not a contradiction in nature, that flesh and blood should be spiritual?" "Oh, surely!" said I, "the governor has forgotten himself; for what flesh and blood was that which Christ said, 'Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you'?" "Why," said he, "I do not think they were to gnaw it from his arms and shoulders." I then told him he had answered himself; and thus our dispute ended. From that time forward they have continued a meeting, and there is now a meeting-house and a Yearly Meeting for worship; it is a growing meeting to this day, and several public Friends are raised up amongst them, who preach the gospel of Christ freely.

At this time a Friend was convinced whose name was Starbuck, who became very serviceable on that

island, and lived and died an eminent minister of Christ. Several scores of the people accompanied us to the water-side; and when we embarked on board our sloop, they desired that I would come and visit them again. I recommended them to the grace of our Lord Jesus, and we parted in great love and tenderness. In the evening of the next day we got to the main land, where we were gladly received. Now it was in my heart again to visit the eastern parts of New England before I left America; therefore I went to Boston Yearly Meeting, thence to Lynn and Salem, where we had a sweet comfortable time; likewise to the Yearly Meetings at Dover, and to Piscataway, where we had several meetings, which were profitable opportunities to many. From Piscataway, James Goodbridge and I went over to the isle of Shoals. We had with us a church-member of the Presbyterians, whose brother invited her over with us to the said island, to the meeting which was at his house; and while he was talking with her in the yard or garden, I saw a bible and took it and read therein. When she came into the house, she asked me, What I did with that book? I told her, if she was offended, I would lay it down. No, no, said she, do not think to come off so, for you disown or deny that book. I told her she was mistaken; and asked who told her so. Why, said she, our minister in his pulpit. I replied, that it was a great abuse upon us, for I had been trained up from my childhood in the reading and belief of the Scriptures, and my father and



mother were Friends, that is, Quakers. She, willing to try me further, said, Did your father and mother suffer you to read the bible when you were a little boy? Yes, said I, and gave me correction when I was not so willing to read therein as they would have me. Then, said she, our minister has belied you; and since you say so, if it please God, I will go and hear you. She went with us to meeting; and after it was over, one asked her how she would answer it to their minister for going to meetings? She replied, it was truth she had heard, and she would stand by it, through the grace of Christ, and need not be ashamed of it, though we are of ourselves but poor weak creatures. This woman was sober and religious, and one of good report. By the foregoing we may see how slanders flow from some pulpits: the more is the shame and pity. We went on and preached the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, in that ability he gave us, with which the people were affected, and would have had us tarry longer, but we could not, although they much importuned us, because we had appointed a meeting at Oyster river. After having several meetings about Piscataway and Dover, we went to Hampton, where we had meetings; and at Salisbury we had a large open meeting, of about three hundred people, as it was supposed, which was at this time accounted a great concourse of people thereabouts. At Jamaica and Haverhill also we had meetings, and from thence went to Salem and Lynn again, where we had good service for Truth; and then to Boston,

and had a meeting at the meeting-house, and another at a Friend's house in the evening, at which there were many people. From Boston I went to visit Friends about Cape Cod, till I came again to Rhode Island. By the way I met with Aaron Atkinson, who was on a visit to Friends in New England. I had several good opportunities and powerful meetings in those parts, and truth wrought a tenderness in divers at Rhode Island. The presence of Him who said, "Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," being sensibly witnessed by many; for He was with us of a truth. From thence I went round the Narraganset country, and had meetings at several places, and was accompanied by John Rodman and William Beackley, through Connecticut to Long Island, which is accounted two hundred miles. We had one meeting by the way, in which Christ, the Light of the world, was preached to the people, at a place where we were told there had never been a Friends' meeting before. I came to Long Island about two weeks before the General Meeting, and visited Friends in several places on this island, as at Hempstead, Jerusalem, Jericho, and Bethpage, where there were large meetings, and much openness among the people, and some were convinced. We had a meeting at a place called Matinicock, where I met with some of the people called Ranters, who disturbed our meeting. I may say as the apostle Paul, only altering Ephesus to Matinicock, that I fought with beasts there. I travelled to New York,

where we had two meetings; from thence we went to the Jerseys, and had several serviceable meetings; and so to Pennsylvania, where there are many very large meetings of Friends, and the Lord is with his people, and prospereth them spiritually and temporally. Here I met with my dear friend William Ellis. From Philadelphia, Richard Gove, of that city, and I travelled to Maryland, and visited Friends on the Western Shore and to Virginia. In Virginia, near James River, I met with an aged Friend whose name was William Porter: he was ninety-two years of age.\* We had several meetings there amongst Friends and others, many being well satisfied concerning the truth, and spoke well of it.

After we had had several good and open meetings in Virginia, we found ourselves clear of America, and in order for our passage, agreed with our friend F. Johnson, of the "Elizabeth and Mary," to carry us for England.

\* I saw him some years after, and he was weeding Indian corn with a hoe. He was then about one hundred and six years of age, and had upwards of seventy children, grandchildren, and great-grand-children. Divers Friends of us went to see him, and he preached to us a short, but very affecting sermon, which was, as near as I remember, thus: "Friends, you are come to see me in the love of God; God is love, and those that dwell in God, dwell in love; I thank God I feel his divine life every day and every night." He died, aged one hundred and seven years.

## CHAPTER II.

1699-1706.

Embarks for England — Incidents of Voyage — The Doctor's Dream — The Doctor Drowned — Arrives at Plymouth — London Yearly Meeting — Marriage — Remarkable Exercise of his Wife — Visits Ireland — Removes to America — Imminent Danger near Goodwin Sands — Return to Deal — Sail again — Terrible Storm — Land in Maryland — Settles at Philadelphia — Visits Barbadoes — Conversation with the Governor — Returns Home — Visit to the South — Visits New England — Cruelties of Indians — Preservation of Friends — Remarkable Account by Mary Doe — Return Home — Visits New Jersey, Maryland, etc. — Dispute with a Priest.

ON the 11th of the First month, 1698-99, we were accompanied on board by several Friends, who abode with us all night; and the next day being the First day of the week, we had a comfortable meeting, and then parted in much love, having the evidence of the power of the Almighty with us. We waited for a fair wind until the 20th of the aforesaid month, and left the Capes of Virginia that day, and at night got our ship into a sailing posture; and I was glad in my spirit that I was setting my face towards my native land; and more glad that I was returning with peace in my bosom. The power and presence of Him who

said, "Go, teach all nations," was sweet to my soul at that time, and now in some measure I enjoyed the fruits of having labored in that ability which God had given to me. Glory to God, through Christ, who is worthy for ever! The presence of God was with us on the great ocean, and we were wonderfully strengthened through his goodness. We had several good meetings on board our ship, and were very largely opened in the love of God to the poor seamen.

When we launched forth into the deep, there were several ships in company; but we had been but a little time at sea, before we lost sight of them all. Several ships passed by us about a week after we sailed; and about this time we saw a very large whale, which lifted itself partly out of the water, with its mouth open, which looked like the entrance of a large cave. We likewise saw several other large sea-fish, such as grampuses, sharks, etc., all of which show forth the wondrous works of the great Creator of all things. Elizabeth Webb and Elizabeth Lloyd went over with us in this vessel, both virtuous women. For about two weeks the winds were mostly fair, in which time we got finely on our way; but for above a week afterwards the winds were mostly contrary, and the ship had a great motion, which caused some of us to be sea-sick, especially Elizabeth Lloyd,\* who

\* She was the daughter of Thomas Lloyd, late Deputy-Governor of Pennsylvania. She lived and died a virtuous woman, and, I think, generally beloved by all who were acquainted with her. When she died she was the wife of Daniel

was but weakly. One night our sailors thought that an enemy or pirate was near us, as a vessel fired two guns and passed by us; but it being night, we could not certainly know what she was. I rather judged it might be some ship in distress, for that evening we saw one of the ships that came out with us, and the next morning we could see none at all, and there was hardly any wind that night, so I feared that our companion had sprung a leak and foundered; and when I told our master my opinion, he said he feared the same likewise. For nearly two weeks' time we beat about the sea, and made little progress. Howbeit, we had several good meetings, wherein we gave glory to God, our Saviour; and forever let it ascend to him over all, saith my soul! Contrary winds are commonly tedious at sea, but especially to those that know not where to stay their minds; but there being several Friends of us on board, we had oftentimes good meetings; and if any of our ship's company came to meeting, they always were sober and sometimes tender; and truly God's love was extended towards them. When it was not our meeting-days, we spent not our time idly, but for the most part in reading the holy Scriptures, writing, etc., in which we were at seasons greatly refreshed, strengthened, and comforted. Oh! my soul! glorify God thy Maker, and Christ thy Saviour, for ever, in the sense of his goodness and mercy, both by sea and land, by night.

Zachary, a merchant of Boston, New England, and was well known and much beloved there for her piety and virtue.

and by day! After we had been almost seven weeks at sea, we thought that we were near the land, but we sounded several days and found no bottom, although we let out abundance of line, I think above three hundred yards.

About this time our doctor dreamed a dream, which he related to me, to this effect: he said "He dreamed that he went on shore at a great and spacious town, the buildings whereof were high, and the streets broad; and as he went up the street he saw a large sign, on which was written, in great golden letters, SHAME. At the door of the house to which the sign belonged, stood a woman with a can in her hand, who said to him, 'Doctor, will you drink?' He replied, 'With all my heart, for I have not drank anything but water a great while,' (our wine and cider being all spent, having had a long passage;) and he drank a hearty draught, which he said made him merry. He went up the street reeling to and fro, when a grim fellow coming behind him, clapped him on the shoulder, and told him that he arrested him in the name of the governor of the place. He asked him for what; and said, 'What have I done?' He answered, 'For stealing the woman's can.' The can he had indeed, and so he was had before the governor, which was a mighty black dog, the biggest and grimmest that ever he saw in his life; and witness was brought in against him by an old companion of his, and he was found guilty, and his sentence was to go to prison, and there lay forever."

He told me this dream so punctually, and with such an emphasis, that it affected me with serious sadness, and caused my heart to move within me; for to me the dream seemed true, and the interpretation sure. I then told him he was an ingenious man, and might clearly see the interpretation of that dream, which exactly answered to his state and condition, which I thus interpreted to him: "This great and spacious place, wherein the buildings were high and the streets broad, is thy great and high profession. The sign, on which was written *shame*, which thou sawest, and the woman at the door, with the can in her hand, truly represent that great, crying, and shameful sin of drunkenness, which thou knowest to be thy great weakness, which the woman with the can did truly represent to thee. The grim fellow who arrested thee in the devil's territories, is Death, who will assuredly arrest all mortals; the governor whom thou sawest, representing a great black dog, is certainly the devil, who after his servants have served him to the full, will torment them eternally in hell." So he got up, as it were in haste, and said, "God forbid! it is nothing but a dream." But I told him it was a very significant one, and a warning to him from the Almighty, who sometimes speaks to men by dreams.

In seven weeks after we left sight of the land of America, we saw the Scilly Islands, and next day the land of England, which was a comfortable sight to us; in that God Almighty had preserved us hitherto, and that we were so far on our way. We drove about



the Channel's mouth for several days for want of wind ; after which the wind came up, and we got as far up the Channel as Lime bay, and then an easterly wind bléw fresh for several days, and we turned to windward, but rather lost than got on our way, which was tiresome and tedious to some of us.

About this time, being some days after the doctor's dream, a grievous accident happened to us. Meeting with a Dutch vessel in Lime bay, a little above the Start, we hailed her, and she us. They said they came from Lisbon, and were bound for Holland. She was loaded with wine, brandy, fruit, and such like commodities, and we having little but water to drink, by reason our passage was longer than we expected, we sent our boat on board in order to buy a little wine to drink with our water. Our doctor, and a merchant who was a passenger, and one sailor, went on board, where they stayed until some of them were overcome with wine, although they were desired to beware thereof. When they came back, a rope was handed to them, but they being filled with wine to excess, were not capable of using it dexterously, insomuch that they overset the boat, and she turned bottom upwards, having the doctor under her. The merchant caught hold of a rope called the main-sheet, whereby his life was saved. The sailor not getting so much drink as the other two, got nimbly on the bottom of the boat, and floated on the water till our other boat was hoisted out, which was done with great speed, and we took him in ; but the doctor was drowned before

the boat came. The seaman who sat upon the boat saw him sink, but could not help him. This was the greatest exercise that we met with in all our voyage; and the more so, because the doctor was of an evil life and conversation, and much given to excess in drinking. When he got on board the aforesaid ship, the master sent for a can of wine, and said, "Doctor, will you drink?" He replied, "Yes, with all my heart, for I have drank no wine a great while." Upon which he drank a hearty draught, that made him merry, as he said in his dream; and notwithstanding the admonition which was so clearly manifested to him but three days before, and the many promises he had made to Almighty God, some of which I was a witness of, when strong convictions were upon him, yet now he was unhappily overcome, and in drink when he was drowned. This is, I think, a lively representation of the tender mercy and just judgment of the Almighty to poor mortals; and I thought it worthy to be recorded for posterity, as a warning to all great lovers of wine and strong liquors. This exercise was so great to me, that I could not for several days get over it; and one day, while I was musing in my mind on those things relating to the doctor, it was opened to me that God and his servants were clear, and his blood was on his own head; for he had been faithfully warned of his evil ways.

We were obliged by contrary winds to put into Plymouth harbor, and from Plymouth I went by coach to London, where I was gladly received by my rela-

tions and friends. I got to the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London, in the year 1699, which was large, and was at divers public meetings for the worship of Almighty God. I may truly say, the Holy Ghost was amongst us, blessed be God our Saviour, for evermore.

In this year I thought it my place to enter into a married state, and I acquainted my father of my design, and that I inclined to make choice of Martha Betterton, a religious young woman, whom I entirely loved for the piety, virtue, and modesty which I beheld in her. I was in the twenty-fourth year of my age, and she in her twenty-first. I likewise acquainted her father and mother with my intentions, to which both our parents consented; her father saying, when I spoke to him, the Lord bless you together. And my father said, if I was worth my weight in gold, she deserved me. The heartiness of both our fathers in this matter was more to me than a portion of silver or gold of which we had but very little; but our love to each other was very great, and being honorably grounded, it was not easily shaken. We proposed our intentions of marriage to the Monthly Meetings to which we belonged; and because I had been travelling in America, I had certificates from my brethren there, not only of my industry and labor in the ministry, with the good effects thereof, but also of my clearness in relation to marriage. After having twice published our intentions, we had liberty of the said meeting to proceed to the solemnization of our marriage, which was accomplished at Devonshire House, in London, at

a meeting appointed for that end, on the 28th day of the Seventh month, in the aforesaid year, in the presence of many hundreds of people, and many worthy brethren and elders. A day of days it was to my soul! wherein I was made sensible of the love and goodness of God in a particular manner, which to me was an earnest of our future well-doing. My dear wife was one who truly loved and feared God, and had an excellent gift of the ministry given unto her, and was serviceable therein. [A paper coming to my hands of her own handwriting and composing, I transcribe it here. She calls it, *An Account of the Exercise of Martha Betterton*; viz.: "As I was walking in the city of London, with a concern on my mind, in beholding the abominable pride of the people, it opened upon my mind in this wise: Woe, woe to the crown of pride! And then I was deeply bowed in my spirit before the Lord, and it was said to me, I will yet spare a little longer. I have sheep which I will gather home to me, and there shall be one Shepherd and one sheepfold. Then I said in my heart, O Lord! shall I be one of the sheep belonging to thy sheepfold of eternal rest? And again it was answered me, My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me. Then a cry was raised in me, Cause me to hear thy voice; and not only so, but enable me to obey the same. And then this charge was returned to me, Be thou faithful."]

Soon after I was married, I had a concern to visit Friends in the counties of Surry, Sussex, and Kent, which I performed in about two weeks' time, and came

home and followed my calling, and was industrious therein. When I had gotten something to bear my expenses, and settle my wife in some little business, I laid an exercise on my spirit to go over to Ireland, to visit our friends and brethren on that island, in which William Townshend accompanied me; and Friends in that nation were generally satisfied with our service among them. When we had been from home about ten weeks, and had visited most parts of that nation, having had many meetings among Friends and others, we found freedom in our minds to return home, which we did, being comforted in our service, and blessed the name of the Lord.

After some few months, I acquainted my wife and my father, with her father and mother, that I thought it my duty to go over and live in America. To which proposal my father consented, though with tenderness of heart, considering that I must be so far separated from him. I also laid it before the Monthly Meeting of Friends, at Horslydown, in Southwark, of which meeting I was a member; they consented to it, though somewhat unwilling to part with us, and gave us their certificate, to let our brethren know that we were in love and unity with them, and walked according to our profession. When we were ready, and in order for going, we agreed for the freight of our goods and servants, with John Snowden, and shipped them on board the "Josiah," bound for Maryland. When the ship was at Gravesend, and ready to sail, several of our dear relations and friends accompanied us to the ship, on

board of which we had a good meeting, and took our solemn leave of one another, as expecting never to see each other any more in this world. It was a solemn time indeed! We prayed for one another, and so parted, our ship sailing that evening, and we got to Margate-road, where we anchored, and the wind sprung up very fresh, and blew tempestuously, so that we broke our cable, and lost our best bower anchor, and drove violently towards the Goodwin Sands. We let go our sheet anchor and three more, which were all we had, but they did not stop her; upon which the master ordered the carpenters to stand by the mainmast, with their axes upon their shoulders, and when he gave the word, they were to cut the mast. The people in the ship — there being many passengers — were in great consternation, expecting nothing but death: but for my part, being exceedingly sea-sick, and having been in many storms, I was not so much surprised with this, the sailors sometimes making a great noise when there is but little danger; but there was more danger than I was aware of, as appeared afterwards. One of the passengers came weeping, and said our case was very bad. The doctor also came in the same manner, and cried, "Oh! Mr. Chalkley, we are all dead men!" I thought with myself, I would go out on deck, and see what the matter was. I went to the pilot, who had the lead in his hand; he sounded, and cried out, "Lord, have mercy upon us! she is gone, she is gone, she is gone!" by which I perceived that we were very

near the Goodwin Sands, on which many ships have been lost with all their crews. In this sense of danger, I sent for the passengers into the cabin, and told them that I thought it would be well for us to sit still together, and look unto, and wait upon God, to see what he would please to do for us; that, if death came, we might meet him in as good a frame of mind as we could, and that we might not be surprised beyond measure. As we were thus composed in our minds, a concern came upon my dear wife, and she prayed to God the Father, in the living power and sense of his Son; and He heard from his holy habitation, and answered the prayer: for immediately after the wind abated, and our anchors held us. This was a great deliverance, which is not to be forgotten. When we saw the longed-for morning, we were very near the Sands, and the sea ran prodigiously high, and broke upon them mightily, so that we were forced to leave our cables and anchors, and make the best of our way to Deal, as well as we could. One of the owners being on shore, and seeing us in distress, sent off a cable and anchor to us; and we anchored before Deal with our new cable and anchor, and sent a boat for our other anchors and cables, when it was calm, which brought them to us. After we had supplied ourselves with what we wanted, we put to sea again, and had fair winds till we got as far as the Western Islands, where Captain Cant, being in company with us, spoke with our captain in the evening, and the two captains concluded it would be stormy that night, which hap-

pened accordingly. They took in their sails, and we all but our mainsail; notwithstanding which, the storm was such that we lost our mainmast, sprung the head of our foremast, and broke our cross-jackyard, and thus lay rolling upon the sea for about two weeks: the ship "Bristol Merchant" coming by in that time, lent us a spare topmast, of which we made a mainmast, and a topmast of our top-gallant-mast, and so refitted as well as we could, and had a pretty good passage afterwards. We were about eight weeks from the Land's-end to the capes of Virginia; had meetings twice a week on board, and they helped to stay our minds on our Maker, though our bodies were tossed to and fro on the mighty waters. We went on shore at Patuxent river, and by land to Herring bay, where my family tarried that winter; and I with my three servants followed my calling. In the spring we transported ourselves, our goods and servants, from Maryland to Pennsylvania, where we intended to settle when we came from our native country. At Philadelphia I bought a lot of ground upon the river Delaware, and there I followed my calling that summer. In the fall I had an inward call to visit Friends in Barbadoes, which I proposed to our Monthly Meeting, and they certified on my behalf that they had unity with me in my proposal, conversation, and ministry. I took ship at Philadelphia, about the 20th of the Seventh month, 1701, on board the "Abraham," — Street, commander, and was about a month on the voyage; Josiah Langdale was with me. We had several good



meetings in the ship to our satisfaction ; and were well received, and had many meetings at Barbadoes, which were often very large and open, and some of the people loving and tender. We had several meetings at Bridge-town, Speight's-town, the Spring, the Thickets, and at Pumpkin-hill ; and after being there about six weeks, we went in a sloop to Bermuda, where we found but very few Friends, yet had meetings in several places, and at the houses of some people who were not of our profession. The longer we tarried, the larger our meetings were ; and many began to be affected, and spoke well of us and our devotion ; but some were disturbed, and spoke to the Governor to break up our meetings ; which at the desire of one of the inhabitants we had appointed at his house : upon which he sent orders by one of his colonels to break up our meeting, which troubled the sober people. After this I met with the Governor at the house of one Judge Stafford ; and he being a moderate man, we had the following discourse, viz. :

*Gov.* How do you like our country ? We are but a little spot in the sea.

*T. C.* I like it well for its moderate climate. If the people were moderate also, it would be well.

*Gov.* Doth it answer your end in coming ?

*T. C.* My end in coming was to visit the people in Christian love.

*Gov.* Do you think the people will be brought over ?

*T. C.* If they are brought to truth and righteous-

ness, it will be well for them. That is the end of our coming.

*Gov.* If you had acquainted me with your design when you first came, you had done well. It was your duty.

*T. C.* If we had known the Governor's will herein, or that thou wouldest have spoken with us, we should have readily answered it: but knowing nothing of it, we could not tell but that it might be taken for rudeness in us, considering our homely way and manner of addressing such men.

*Gov.* Then your design in coming here was to preach. Had you no other end?

*T. C.* Yes. As we found a concern upon us to preach, and a desire in the people to hear.

*Gov.* Why do you not tarry with them? that looks strange. Here the people are affected with you, and you go away and leave them: I blame you for that.

*T. C.* We do not direct them to men, but to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher, and the bishop of their souls. And why should our leaving them look strange to the Governor? It was the practice of the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his own practice and command to his followers. And further, the Apostles (which word signifies ambassadors or messengers) say, follow us, as we are followers of Christ. They travelled up and down the world preaching the gospel; and our great Lord himself had not whereon to lay his head.

*Gov.* The Apostles were inspired men,—inspired

by the Holy Spirit to preach the gospel. I suppose you do not pretend to be inspired?

*T. C.* Every true Christian ought to pray for the pouring out of the Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost upon him. The Church of England\* also prays for it, the receiving of which is inspiration.

*Gov.* Your reasons being grounded on Scripture, you are well grounded; for no man can deny the Scriptures. Then you say you are inspired?

*T. C.* I hope I am. I pray for it with great earnestness.

*Gov.* Then it is but ask, and have, you think?

*T. C.* If we ask in faith, without wavering, we shall receive, according to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles in the New Testament.

*Gov.* Well, if any have a desire to hear you, you may preach and welcome.

After I had this discourse with the governor, it was reported on the island, that he had given us a license to preach, which report was not true, further than the aforesaid discourse, and then we had larger meetings than before. We had a meeting at Judge Stafford's house, and one at a house not far from his.

It is observable, that this island hath formerly been a very healthy and fruitful place. Red-cedar, or sweet-wood, is all the timber they have, with which they build their houses, make their household goods, build their ships and sloops, and make their fires; so that there is continually a fragrant and pleasant

\* Of which Church the governor was a member.

smell, which we could smell at sea some time before we saw the land; and it is yet a pretty healthy and fruitful island, but not so much so as formerly. In one of the meetings I was concerned to let them know that it was the evil of their ways and doings that had caused the Almighty to withhold from them the fruits of the earth, and to make their island more unhealthy than it was formerly. After meeting, the judge told me I had said truly, for that was the cause; and if I had spoken more on that subject, I had done well. Several were convinced at this time on the island.

Soon after, an opportunity offered, in a sloop belonging to this island, bound for Philadelphia; and being clear we embarked in her, and on our voyage had pretty good weather, only one hard gale of wind, which caused us to hand our jib. A mulatto man, named Stavo, the master's servant, went out upon the bowsprit to hand the sail, and there came a sea and washed him off; and the vessel ran over him; and in all probability he had been drowned, had he not been a good swimmer; for he swam, as we judged, three quarters of a mile before he got to the sloop, it not coming into any one's mind to lower the sails until I sharply ordered it to be done, which they then did readily; and the course of the vessel being stopped, he soon got on board, having stripped himself of his clothes in the sea, and brought them in his mouth. I was very thankful for the poor fellow's life, and praised the Lord in the secret of my soul

for his preservation. In about two weeks' time we arrived at Philadelphia, and I had great peace in my labors in this visit, in which I was from home about five months. The Friends of Barbadoes were so well satisfied with this labor of love, that they certified the same by way of certificate, more than is proper for me to mention. But though they thought so well of me, yet I had occasion to think very meanly of myself, for I was emptied at times to exceeding great spiritual poverty.

After I came home from Barbadoes and Bermuda, I followed my calling, and kept to meetings diligently; for I was not easy to be idle, either in my spiritual or temporal calling. At times I travelled in the work of the ministry in our own province, in which there are many large meetings of Friends, and they increase and multiply from time to time. Since my settling in this province, which is now about a year, some hundreds of people are come here to reside, and many meeting-houses are built; and I do certainly know from above, that this province of Pennsylvania, and city of Philadelphia, will flourish both spiritually and temporally, if the inhabitants will love and live in righteousness and in the fear of God; otherwise the hand that planted them can soon pluck them up. After some time, I was drawn forth to visit Friends in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and went with the unity of Friends; having their certificate, according to the good order established among us. About the 26th of the First month, 1703, I went

through Maryland, and visited Friends in Virginia and North Carolina, to the river Pamlico, where no travelling, public Friends, that ever I heard of, were before, and we had several meetings there on each side of the river. One day going out of our canoe through a marsh, I trod on a rattlesnake, which is accounted one of the most poisonous snakes; but it only hissed at me, and did no harm. This was one deliverance among many, which the Lord by his providence wrought for me; and I bless his holy name for all his mercies. In going to, and coming from this place, we lay two nights in the woods, and I think I never slept better. It was the eighth hour in the evening when I laid down on the ground one night, my saddle being my pillow, at the root of a tree, and it was four o'clock in the morning when they called me. When I awoke, I thought of Jacob's lodging on his way to Padan Aram, when he saw the holy vision of angels, with the ladder, whose top reached to heaven. Very sweet was the love of God to my soul that morning, and the dew of the everlasting hills refreshed me. I went on my way, praising the Lord, and magnifying the God of my salvation. In this journey I met with another remarkable deliverance. Going over a river eight miles broad, there being eight men and seven horses, we put the horses into two canoes tied together, so that they stood with their forefeet in one, and their hind-feet in the other. It was calm when we set out, but when we were about the middle of the river, the wind rose, and the seas

ran high, and split one of the canoes, so that with our hats we were obliged to cast out the water ; and with much difficulty, at last, all of us, with our horses, got safely on shore, through the good providence of God. On our return through North Carolina, we had several large meetings, and an open time it was ; as also at Nancemond and Chuckatuck, and several other places in Virginia. When my service was over in those two provinces, I went back to Maryland, and visited meetings there, and then went home. As nearly as I can compute, I rode about a thousand miles in this journey ; after which I stayed at home, following my business, in order to the maintenance of my family, being blessed with a wife, children, servants, and other things ; for which I am truly thankful.

While I was at home, I visited the neighboring meetings, as I found a concern on my mind ; and on the 6th day of the Third month, 1704, I laid before our Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders an exercise that was upon my mind, to visit our Friends' meetings on Long Island, Rhode Island, in New England, and the places adjacent. They gave me a good certificate, which I thought it my duty to endeavor to live up to ; and being accompanied by several Friends to Burlington and Crosswicks, and Joseph Glaister being my fellow-laborer in the work of the gospel, at the two aforesaid places we had meetings, and then travelled to New York and Long Island, where we had divers meetings ; as at Flushing, West-

bury, Jerusalem, Jericho, Bethpage, Matinicock, and also at West Chester, on the main. From thence we travelled to Rhode Island Yearly Meeting, which was large and serviceable to many. Joseph Glaister then went towards Boston, the inland way, and I went by the sea-side; and we met together, after I had been at meetings at Dartmouth and Nantucket Island, at which island there are large meetings, the people being mostly Friends, and sober and growing in the best things. Though not of our Society when they first received the truth, yet they received it with gladness; and although the people called Presbyterians were very cruel in their expressions, and bitter in their spirits against us, yet there were others who went under that name, who were more open and charitable towards us, and received us gladly with tenderness; and at some places we had meetings at their houses to our mutual satisfaction. We likewise had meetings at Suckanuset, Scituate, and Sandwich. About this time the Indians were very barbarous in the destruction of the English inhabitants, scalping some, and knocking out the brains of others, men, women, and children; by which the country was greatly alarmed, both night and day; but the great Lord of all was pleased wonderfully to preserve our friends, especially those who kept faithful to their peaceable principle, according to the doctrine of Christ in the holy Scriptures, in his excellent sermon which he preached on the mount, recorded in the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Matthew, which is quite opposite



to killing, revenge, and destruction, even of our enemies. Because Friends could not join with those of fighting principles and practices, some were put into prison; divers people railing, and speaking very bitterly against their peaceable neighbors, and wishing the Quakers might be cut off.

Some of the New England priests and professors were so bitter against Friends, that instead of being humbled under the mighty hand of God upon them, in suffering the Indians to destroy them, they expressed their enmity against the poor Quakers on a day appointed for humiliation and a fast; and particularly in a sermon preached by one of their priests, which he divided into three heads, viz.: First, That the judgments of God were upon them, in letting loose the savage Indians to destroy them. Secondly, In that he withheld the fruits of the earth from them, for there was a great scarcity. Thirdly, That the Quakers prevailed, and were suffered to increase so much among them; which he said was worse than the Indians destroying them, and gave this absurd reason for it: the Indians destroy our bodies, but the Quakers destroy the soul.\* This is an abominable falsehood; for it is sin that destroys the soul; and those who preach to the people that there is no freedom from it in this world, contradict Christ's doctrine, "Be ye perfect," etc., and that of the apostle, "He that is born of God cannot sin." And thus

\* This priest was soon after killed by the Indians, as I was told by a minister.

their blind guides mistake light for darkness, and darkness for light. Among the many hundreds that were slain, I heard but of three Friends being killed, whose destruction was very remarkable, as I was informed: one was a woman, the other two were men. The men used to go to their labor without any weapons, and trusted to the Almighty, and depended on his providence to protect them, it being their principle not to use weapons of war to offend others, or to defend themselves. But a spirit of distrust taking place in their minds, they took weapons of war to defend themselves; and the Indians, who had seen them several times without them, and let them alone, saying, "They were peaceable men, and hurt nobody, therefore they would not hurt them," now seeing them have guns, and supposing they designed to kill the Indians, shot the men dead. The woman had remained in her habitation, and could not be free to go to a fortified place for preservation, neither she, her son, nor daughter, nor to take thither the little ones; but the poor woman after some time began to let in a slavish fear, and advised her children to go with her to a fort not far from their dwelling. Her daughter being one who trusted in the name of the Lord, the mighty tower to which the righteous flee and find safety, could not consent to go with her; and having left a particular account in a letter to her children of her and their preservation, I think it worthy to be inserted here in her own words; viz.:

"When the cruel Indians were suffered to kill and destroy, it was shown to me that I must stand in a testimony for truth, and trust in the name of the Lord, who is a strong tower, and that we should wait upon him. I often desired my mother and husband to sit down and wait upon the Lord, and he would show us what we should do. I could not prevail with him, but he would say it was too late now, and was in great haste to be gone; but I could not go with him, because I was afraid of offending the Lord. Still he would say I was deluded by the devil, so that my mother would often say, 'a house divided could not stand;' and she could not tell what to do. Although she had most peace in staying, yet she had thoughts of moving, and said to me, 'Child, canst thou certainly say it is revealed to thee that we should stay? if it be, I would willingly stay, if I was sure it was the mind of God.' But I being young, was afraid to speak so high, and said, 'Mother, I can say it is thus with me, that when I think of staying, and trusting in the name of the Lord, I find great peace and comfort, more than I can utter, with a belief that we shall be preserved; but when I think of going, oh! the trouble and heaviness I feel, with a fear some of us should fall by them!' And my dear mother sighed, and said, 'She could not tell what to do.' I said to them, if they would go, I would be willing to stay alone; if they found freedom, I was very willing, for I was afraid of offending the Lord. But still my poor husband would say, 'I took a wrong spirit for the right.' And he would

say, 'How should I know? For if I was right, I would be willing to condescend to him.' Then I said, in condescension to him I would move; but I hoped the Lord would not lay it to my charge, for was it not to condescend to him, I would not move for the world; and after I had given away my strength, in a little time there came men from the garrison, with their guns, and told us, 'They came for us,' and said, 'The Indians they thought might be near;' and then away we went, and my mother went in with my brother-in-law, although I persuaded her not to do it. But she said, 'Why, my child is there; and may not I be with her as well as thee?' And so we went along to Hampton, to my husband's brother's. But, oh! the fear and trouble I felt! and I told my husband it seemed as if we were going into the mouths of the Indians. The next day was the first of the week; and our dear friend, Lydia Norton, came with my dear mother; and in her testimony she said there was there that was very near to her life, who was very near to death. Oh! then I was ready to think it would be me, because I believed we had done amiss in moving, and great trouble was I in, and told dear Lydia of it; but she comforted me as much as she could, and said, 'She did not think it would be me.' My dear mother went to my sister's again, to the garrison, where she found herself not easy; but as she often said to many, she felt herself in a beclouded condition, and more shut from counsel than ever she had been since she knew the truth. Being uneasy, she went to move to a

friend's house who lived in the neighborhood; and as she was moving, the bloody cruel Indians lay by the way, and killed her. Oh! then how did I lament moving; and promised if the Lord would be pleased to spare my life, and husband, and children, and carry us home again, I would never do so more. But, oh! the fear, and trouble, and darkness that fell upon me, and many more at that time! and three or four of us kept our meeting: but although we sat and waited as well as we could, yet we sat in a poor beclouded condition, until we returned home again, then did the Lord please to lift up the light of his love upon our poor souls. Then I told my husband, although he had built a little house by the garrison, I could not move again. So he was willing to stay while the winter season lasted, but told me he could not stay when summer came, for then the Indians would be about; and told me that if I could not go to the garrison, I might go to a friend's house near it. I was willing to please him if the Lord was willing; and applied my heart to know the mind of Truth, and it was showed me, that if I moved again, I should lose the sense of Truth, and should never hold up my head again. Then I told my husband, he must never ask me to move again, for I durst not do it. Still he would say it was a notion, till our dear friend Thomas Story came, and told him, 'He did not see that I could have a greater revelation than I had.' He satisfied my husband so well, that he never again asked me to go, but was very well contented to stay during all the wars;

and then things were made more easy, and we saw the wonderful works and the mighty power of the Lord, in keeping and preserving us, when the Indians were at our doors and windows, and at other times. And the Lord put courage in you, my dear children; do not you forget it, and do not think that you were young, and because you knew little, so you feared nothing, but often consider how you stayed at home alone, when we went to meetings, and how the Lord preserved you, and kept you, so that no hurt came upon you. I leave this charge upon you, live in the fear of the Lord, and see you set him always before your eyes, lest you sin against him. If I had not feared the Lord, and felt the comforts of his holy Spirit, I could never have stood so great a trial, when so many judged, and said that I was deluded, and that the blood of my husband and children would be required at my hands; but the Lord was near to me, and gave me strength and courage, and faith to trust in him, for I know his name to be a strong tower, yea, and stronger than any in the world; for I have oftentimes fled there for safety. Oh! blessing, and honor, and everlasting high praises be given to the Lord, and to his dear Son, our Saviour and mediator, Christ Jesus. Amen.

MARY DOE."

A neighbor of the aforesaid people told me, that, as he was at work in his field, the Indians saw and called him, and he went to them. They told him, they had no quarrel with the Quakers, for they were a quiet,

6\*

peaceable people, and hurt nobody, and that therefore none should hurt them. But they said, that the Presbyterians in these parts had taken away their lands, and some of their lives, and would now, if they could, destroy all the Indians.

Those Indians began about this time to shoot people down as they went along the road, and to knock them in the head in their beds, and very barbarously murdered many. We travelled the country, and had large meetings, and the good presence of God was with us abundantly, and we had great inward joy in the Holy Ghost in our outward jeopardy and travels. The people generally rode and went to their worship armed, but Friends went to their meetings without either sword or gun, having their trust and confidence in God.

After having had divers good meetings in those eastern parts of New England, I returned to Salem, Lynn, Boston, and so towards Rhode Island, and at adjacent places, as in the Narraganset country; we had meetings also at Dartmouth, Sandwich, and Scituate. As I was entering into the town of Boston, in company with many others, a man rode up to me and asked in a scoffing manner, "Whether I saw or met with any Quakers on the road?" I pleasantly told him, we should not tell the Presbyterians, lest they should hang them. He not thinking of such an answer, went sneakingly away.

Having thoroughly visited Friends in those parts, in company with my friend Thomas Story, I travelled through Connecticut government, and had several

meetings in that colony; and came to Long Island, where we had meetings to the satisfaction of ourselves and Friends. From Long Island, after we were clear of the service and exercise of the work of the ministry, and had visited Friends' meetings as we travelled, and in many places found openness among the people who were not of our profession, who sometimes came in great numbers to our meetings, and several were convinced in a good degree, and many comforted, strengthened, and edified, in Christ our Lord, we came to Philadelphia, the place of our habitation. Let his name, saith my soul, have the praise of all his works forever.

After being at home some time, I visited Friends' meetings in our county, and several parts of New Jersey, Maryland, and the lower counties on Delaware. At Jones' I appointed a meeting at a public-house near the court-house. General notice being given thereof, there came one — Crawford, a priest, with many of his hearers, and in the beginning of the meeting he read a sermon, as they called it, which was a transcript of the works of some of our adversaries, which we desired to have from them to answer. They said, "If I would answer it myself, I should have it." I told them I should, if they would let me have it; but though they promised it, they did not perform, but were worse than their word. We heard them read it patiently, and after they had done, had our meeting. The auditory was large, and most of the magistrates were at it. The priest's read-



ing, and my testimony, occasioned this meeting to hold long; after which, as we were getting on horseback, the priest cried out among the people, "That he did not think we would go away so sneakingly." We having twenty miles to ride that night, and he near his home, and having the advantage in that respect, some thought it made him the bolder, for he let me get on horseback before he uttered that expression. I told him to challenge was enough to set a coward to work, and we were no cowards; for he knew we could venture our lives for our religion, which I questioned whether he would do for his. I dismounted, and he having the bible open in his hand, I being near him, chanced, against my will and knowledge, to touch it with my foot. "Look you, gentlemen," says he, "he tramples the Word of God under his feet!" For which gross abuse his own hearers openly rebuked him, and put him to shame. Then he said, "He would prove us no ministers of Christ." I bid him prove himself one, and he would do the business. "Well," says he, "how shall we know who are Christ's ministers?" "Why," said I, "art thou willing to be tried by Christ's rule, for he hath given us a plain rule to know them by." "What is that rule? Let us hear it," says he. "It is short, but full, namely, 'By their fruits you shall know them; for men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles:' wherefore by their fruits they are known." "I deny it," says Priest Crawford, — for that was the name he went by here, he going by another elsewhere,

—"that they are known by their fruits." I answered, "Then thou deniest the plain and naked truth of Christ." So I called aloud to the people to take notice what a blind guide they had; and indeed he was wicked, as well as blind, and his fruits not good; which may make one suppose that he was not willing to be tried by his fruits. For soon after, news came that he had a wife in England, and as he had another here, his fruits were wicked with a witness; and according to Christ's doctrine, no good could spring from his ministry, therefore he proved himself by his evil deeds to be no minister of Jesus Christ. Near the aforesaid place we got a meeting settled, which is called Little-creek Meeting; and about the same time a meeting was established, and a meeting-house built at Duck creek. The people in those parts about this time began mightily to see through the formal preaching of such as preach for money, who love the hire, though they do not love to be called hirelings.

## CHAPTER III.

1706-1710.

Opposition by a Priest and Lawyer—Visits to West Indies and Europe—Arrival at Barbadoes—Religious Labors—Privateer—Jamaica—Travels through England—Holland—Wm. Sewel—Friesland—Germany—Rough Travelling—Return to England—London Yearly Meeting—Embarks for Philadelphia—Arrives at Home.

IN the year 1706, having some concerns in the province of Maryland, I had divers meetings as I travelled on the road, as at Nottingham, Elk river, North-east, Susquehanna, Bush and Gun-powder rivers; at some of which places I do not know that there had been any meeting before. At one of these meetings were one Edwards a priest, and a lawyer, the attorney-general, and several justices of the peace. The priest was angry, and said, "It was an unlawful assembly, the house not being licensed by law." The justices told him, "That he and his people being there to hear, if any unwarrantable or false doctrine was preached, he had a fair opportunity to lay it open before all the people." So they desired him to hear patiently and quietly. He seemed to like the proposition, and sat down by me. We had not sat down long before I stood up, and spoke to the people a con-

siderable time. The lawyer sat opposite to me, and took what I said in short-hand, for about half an hour ; but growing weary, he laid down his pen, and took out of his pocket a bottle of liquor, or spirits, and said, "Come, friend, here is to thee (or you) ; you have spoken a great while, you need something to refresh you." I made a stop, and said to the people, "Here is your minister, and here is some of the fruits of his ministry, of which he and all sober people may be ashamed." And then went on again without any opposition till I had done ; but afterwards they were in a rage, and threatened what they would do to me, if ever I came there again to have a meeting. But I told them, if they had power to take our lives from us, they were not dear to us for the sake of Christ and his gospel ; and that we did not regard their threatenings. I desired the lawyer to give me a copy of what he had written ; he went about it, but did not do it ; neither was he candid in penning my words ; for several of the people then present bore witness that he had not written it *verbatim*, or truly taken the sense of what I spoke. I charged him to be just, otherwise he had many witnesses against him ; at which the priest bent his fist, and held it up to me, but did not strike me, and away they went in a fret. Soon after we had another meeting at the same place, which was large and quiet. The man of the house being an attorney at law, had got his house licensed, and though the priest and lawyer threatened hard, they came not.

Aquila Paca, high-sheriff of the county, living at the head of Bush river, near the main road, built a meeting-house, at his own charge, and had it licensed, at which we had many good meetings. About this time also a meeting-house was built at a place called Nottingham, which is a large meeting, and greatly increases.

When I was travelling in those parts, I had a concern on my mind to visit the Indians living near Susquehanna, at Conestoga, and I laid it before the elders of Nottingham meeting, with which they expressed their unity, and promoted my visiting them. We got an interpreter, and thirteen or fourteen of us travelled through the woods about fifty miles, carrying our provisions with us, and on the journey sat down by a river, and spread our food on the grass, and refreshed ourselves and horses, and then went on cheerfully, with good will and much love to the poor Indians; and when we came they received us kindly, treating us civilly in their way. We treated about having a religious meeting with them, upon which they called a council, and were very grave, and spoke one after another, without any heat or jarring; and some of the most esteemed of their women do sometimes speak in their councils. I asked our interpreter why they permitted the women to speak in their councils? His answer was, "That some women are wiser than some men." Our interpreter told me, that they had not done anything for many years, without the counsel of an ancient grave woman; who, I observed, spoke

much in their council; for I was permitted to be present at it; and I asked what it was the woman said? He told me she was an empress; and they gave much heed to what she said amongst them; and that she then said, "She looked upon our coming to be more than natural, because we did not come to buy, or sell, or get gain, but came in love and respect to them, and desired their well-doing both here and hereafter;" and further continued, "That our meetings among them might be very beneficial to their young people," and related a dream which she had three days before, and interpreted it, viz.: "That she was in London, and that London was the finest place she ever saw, it was like to Philadelphia, but much bigger; and she went across six streets, and in the seventh she saw William Penn preaching to the people, which was a great multitude, and she and William Penn rejoiced to see one another; and after meeting she went to him, and he told her that in a little time he would come over and preach to them also, of which she was very glad. And now she said her dream was fulfilled, for one of his friends was come to preach to them." She advised them to hear us, and entertain us kindly; and accordingly they did. Here were two nations of them, the Senecas and Shawanese. We had first a meeting with the Senecas, with which they were much affected; and they called the other nation, viz., the Shawanese, and interpreted to them what we spoke in their meeting, and the poor Indians, particularly some of the young

men and women, were under a solid exercise and concern. We had also a meeting with the other nation, and they were all very kind to us, and desired more such opportunities; the which, I hope divine Providence will order for them, if they are worthy thereof. The gospel of Jesus Christ was preached freely to them, and faith in Christ, who was put to death at Jerusalem by the unbelieving Jews; and that this same Jesus came to save people from their sins, and by his grace and light in the soul, shows to man his sins, and convinceth him thereof, delivering him out of them, and gives inward peace and comfort to the soul for well-doing, and sorrow and trouble for evil-doing; to all which, as their manner is, they gave public assents; and to that of the light in the soul they gave a double assent, and seemed much affected with the doctrine of truth; also the benefit of the Holy Scriptures was largely opened to them.\*

After this we returned to our respective habitations, thankful in our hearts to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Several of the Friends that went with me, expressed their satisfaction in this visit, and offered themselves freely to go again on the like service.

\* It is worthy of notice that at the first settling of Pennsylvania, William Penn took great care to do justice to the Indians, and bought his land of them to their satisfaction, and settled a trade with them; so that whereas the Indians were destructive to the other colonies, they were helpful to Pennsylvania; and to this day they love to hear the name of William Penn.

I also was concerned soon after to visit the people about Egg Harbor and Cape May, and had meetings amongst them, and several meetings were settled in those parts, and the people somewhat reformed from what they had been before they were visited by Friends. They told me, after a meeting we had with them, that they used to spend the Sabbath days in sporting and vanity, until Friends came among them, and now they meet together to worship God and his Son Jesus Christ. At our coming amongst them, some backsliders and apostates were displeased. One, in a very bitter spirit, called us cursed and cruel devils. Another wrote against us. To him I sent an answer, for which he scandalized me in one of his almanacs, and publicly belied me in print; which lies I swept away with "A small Broom," printed in this year, 1706, to which I never understood that he returned any answer, nor that he wrote against Friends afterwards, though he had made it his practice for several years.

At Little Egg Harbor lived a Friend whose name was Edward Andrews, who, as himself told me, had been a leader of the people into vanity and folly, as music, dancing, etc., but the good hand of the Lord being upon him, wrought a wonderful reformation in him, and made him an instrument to lead people into truth and righteousness, and gave him an excellent gift in the ministry of the gospel of Christ; so that he was made instrumental in gathering a large and growing meeting, most of the people thereabouts being



convinced, and a great reformation and change wrought in their conversations. This Friend told me that when he was very rude and wild, he was mightily reached to, at the meeting we had under the trees at Cross-wicks,\* so that he could not go on with his vanity as before; after which he had strong convictions on him, which wrought conversion in the Lord's time, after he had gone through many deep inward exercises.

After these journeys were over, and I had cleared myself, I was some time at home, and followed my business with diligence and industry, and throve in the things of the world, the Lord adding a blessing to my labor. Some people would tell me that I got money for preaching, and grew rich by it; which being a common calumny cast upon our public Friends that are travellers, I shall take a little notice of it, and leave it to posterity. It is against our principle, and contrary to our known practice and rule, to take money for preaching the gospel of Christ, and publishing salvation through his name unto the people; for according to Christ's command, we, receiving it freely, are to give it forth freely. I can say, without vanity or boasting, I have spent many pounds in that service, besides my time, which is as precious to me as to other people; rising early, and laying down late; many days riding forty, fifty, and sixty miles a day, which was very laborious, and hard for my flesh to endure, being corpulent and heavy from the twenty-seventh year of my age. I can truly say, that I never received any money or consideration on account of

\* See page 31.

these services, either directly or indirectly ; and yet, if any of our ministers are necessitous or poor, we relieve them freely, not because they are preachers, but because they are needy ; and when we have done those things, we have done but our duty : and well will it be for those that have discharged themselves faithfully therein. Such will, besides the earnest of peace in their own souls in this world, have a blessed reward in the glorious kingdom of the Lord and his Christ in that world which is to come. It is well known that I have spent much of my time, since I have been free from my apprenticeship, in travelling and preaching the gospel, being out often many months, and sometimes a whole year, and more ; and at intervals I have been apt to think the time long till I got to my business and family ; and have at times made more haste than I should have done, which has brought trouble on my mind, and is a trouble to me unto this day. This may be a caution to those who travel in the work of the ministry hereafter, not to make too much haste from the work of Christ ; and yet there ought to be discretion used ; for a minister may stay too long, as well as return too soon, which may be perceived as we keep the eye of our mind to our divine guide.

After I had stayed at and about home for a considerable time, a weighty concern came upon me to visit Friends in the West Indies, and some parts of Europe, as it might please the Almighty to open my way ; and as it was to be a long travel, both by

sea and land, and hazardous, by reason that it was war time, and many privateers at sea, I settled my affairs by will and otherwise, that if I should not live to come home again, things relating to my outward affairs might be done honorably and well: for at this time, as at many others, I can truly say I gave up my life freely for my holy Master's sake, and in his cause, who said, "Go teach all nations," etc.

On the 29th of the Sixth month, 1707, I had a certificate from the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Philadelphia, signifying their unity with my undertaking, and desires for my welfare; and a tender concern was on my mind that I might live according to what my brethren had certified concerning me. I likewise laid my exercise before the general meeting of ministers and elders, held for the provinces of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, on the 22d of the Seventh month, who also signified their fellowship with my intended journey, and recommended me to the grace of God; and in much love and tenderness I parted with my dear and loving wife, and my near and affectionate friends and brethren.

I had for my companion and fellow-laborer in the work of the gospel, my dear friend, Richard Gove, who also had the approbation and unity of Friends in this journey and undertaking.

We went on board a sloop at Philadelphia, bound for Barbadoes, John Knight, master, about the 27th of the Eighth month, in the aforesaid year.

After a few days' sailing down the river Delaware,

we put to sea, and in about a month's time we came within sight of Barbadoes, where we met with a privateer, which chased, and had like to have taken us; but the good providence of God preserved us out of the hands of those enemies; forever blessed be his name! In this chase the seamen were uneasy, and belched out wicked oaths, and cursed the Quakers, wishing all their vessels might be taken by the enemy, because they did not carry guns in them; at which [evil conduct] I was grieved, and thus expostulated with them: "Do you know the worth of a man's life? guns being made on purpose to destroy men's lives. Were this ship and cargo mine, so far as I know my heart, I do ingenuously declare, I had rather lose it all, than that one of you should lose his life." For I certainly knew they were unfit to die. "Lives!" say they, "we had rather lose our lives than go to France." "But," said I, "that is not the matter; had you rather go to hell than go to France?" They being guilty of great sins and wickedness, and convicted in their own consciences, held their peace, and said no more about the poor Quakers; and when we got within gunshot of a fort on Barbadoes, the enemy left chasing us.

Next morning early we safely arrived at Bridgetown, in Barbadoes, where our friends gladly received us; amongst whom we labored in the work of the gospel for about two months. After having had divers good and edifying meetings for the worship of God, we sailed for Antigua, and stayed some days

there, having meetings and visiting our brethren. From Antigua we sailed for Nevis, but the wind being contrary, we put in at Montserrat, an isle that has a great mountain in it, on the top of which is a hot spring of water, which boils up, and the mire of it is clear brimstone, some of which we carried on board our vessel; which is admirable, and shows the wonderful works of God. They say that the spring is hot enough to boil an egg. From this island we sailed to Nevis, and had meetings with the few Friends there, with whom we parted at the sea-shore in great love and tenderness. We sailed to an island called Anguilla, and were civilly treated there by the generality of the people; as also by the governor, George Leonard, at whose house we had meetings. I remember that after one meeting the governor went into his porch, and took the bible and opened it, and said, "By this book, if people believe the holy Scriptures, I am able to convince the world, and prove, that the people called Quakers are the people of God, and that they follow the example and doctrine of Christ, and the practices of the Apostles and primitive Christians, nearer than any people in the world;" *i. e.*, generally speaking. At this island several people were heartily convinced, and confessed to the truth, among whom a meeting was settled. Here was never any Friend before, as the inhabitants said. I entreat the Lord Jehovah to preserve the sincere-hearted among them in his holy fear whilst they remain in this world; and not them only, but all that love and fear him, in all

kindreds and nations, and amongst people of all professions whatsoever. This, in the universal spirit of God's love, is the desire of my soul. From Anguilla we went to Nevis, and to Antigua; and notwithstanding our sloop was a dull sailer, yet we were preserved from the enemy, to the admiration of ourselves, friends, and others, our course being in the very road of the privateers. Just as we got into the harbor and were landed, a privateer came by with a prize, as we supposed, which excited our thankfulness to the Lord for our preservation. Here we met with the packet-boat bound for Jamaica, and thence for England. We stayed a little at the island called St. Christopher's. In our way to Jamaica we saw a small privateer that gave us chase, and it being calm, she rowed up towards us. The master prepared the vessel to fight, hoisting up his mainsail and putting out our colors. In the interim some were bold and some sorrowful. One came to me and asked, "What I thought of it, and of the Quakers' principles, now?" I told him I thought I was as willing to go to heaven as himself; to which he said nothing, but turned away from me. Another asked me, "What I would do now?" I told him, I would pray that they might be made better, and that they might be made fit to die. In the midst of their noise and hurry, I begged in secret of the Almighty, in the name, and for the sake of his dear Son, that he would be pleased to cause a fresh gale of wind to spring up, that we might be delivered from the enemy without shedding blood, well knowing

that few of them were fit to die. Whilst I was thus concerned, the Lord answered my desire and prayer, for in a few minutes the wind sprung up, and we soon left them out of sight, our vessel sailing extraordinarily well, and the next day we got to Jamaica, and had meetings at Port Royal, Kingston, Spanish-town, etc. At a meeting at Spanish-town there were some Jews, to whom my heart was very open, and I felt great love to them for the sake of their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and they were so affected with the meeting that they sent us some unleavened cakes, made with fine flour and sweet oil, it being a festival time with them. We had a meeting at Port Royal, in a place where the earthquake had destroyed a large building, in which meeting I had occasion to remind them of the righteous judgments of God, which had been justly inflicted on them for their wickedness. Some wept, and some were rude. The people here, as I was informed, were generally very wicked. After having had divers meetings, the packet in which we had taken our passage being obliged to stay but ten days, we went off sooner than we otherwise should have done; and solemnly taking leave of those Friends that were there, we went on board our vessel, in order for England, by God's permission. We got readily through the windward passage, which is between the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola; and several times, after we left Jamaica, we were chased by ships, but they could not come up with us. One ship of twenty-eight guns gave us chase after a great

storm, and was almost up with us before we could well make sail; they being eager of their prey, sent their hands aloft to let their reefs out of the topsails, in order to make more speed, and came running towards us, and gained much upon us. We feared to make sail by reason of the storm, and the sea running very high, and our masts being in danger, we were some time in doubt whether we should escape or not: but whilst we were in this consternation, down came the French ship's three topmasts at once; so we escaped, and left her, and went rejoicing on our way, that we were thus delivered. This was one of the great and remarkable deliverances among many I met with, by the good hand and providence of the Lord, my great and good Master, whom I hope to serve all my days.

After having been at sea about six weeks, we began to look out for land, and in two or three days we sounded, and found ground at about ninety fathoms; after which we saw two French privateers, who gave us chase and pursued us vigorously; but sailing better than they, we ran them out of sight, and in about two hours after, we saw the land of Ireland. It being misty weather, with rain and wind, our master thought it best to lay by and forbear sailing, that coast being rocky and dangerous, by which means the two ships that gave us chase came up with us, and found us not in sailing order, and were within gunshot of us before we were aware of it. What to do now we could not tell, until they began to fire at us; but in this emer-



gency and strait, our master resolved he would rather run the vessel on shore than they should have her, she being richly laden with indigo, silver, and gold, reckoned to the value of fifty thousand pounds. In this strait, we must either fall into the hands of the French, who were our enemies, or run among the rocks; and we thought it best to fall into the hands of the Almighty, and trust to his providence; so towards the rocks we went, which had a terrible aspect. The native Irish seeing us, came down in great numbers, and ran on the rocks and called to us, saying, "That if we came any nearer, we should be dashed in pieces." Our master ordered the anchor to be let go, which brought the ship up before she struck; and with much ado he put his boat out into the sea, and put in all the passengers, in order to set them on shore, the waves running very high, so that it looked as if every wave would have swallowed us up; and it was a great favor of Providence that we got to land in safety. The privateers not daring to come so near the shore as we did, after firing at us went away, and our master carried the ship into the harbor of Kinsale, in Ireland. Thus through many perils and dangers we were preserved, and got safely on the Irish shore, for which, and all other the mercies and favors of the Most High, my soul and spirit did give God glory and praise! In this voyage we were about seven weeks at sea.

When I came from my home at Philadelphia, I intended, the Lord permitting, to visit Friends in Ire-

land, and being accidentally cast on shore there, I thought it my place first to go through that nation. I had been in Ireland about nine years before, and then being but young, and now being more grown in body, my old acquaintance and friends did not at first know me; but we were kindly and lovingly received by our friends and brethren in that nation, where there is a numerous people that serve and worship the Father in spirit and in truth, and who have good and wholesome order established amongst them, in the unity and fellowship of the gospel. In this nation we had many and large meetings after our landing, visiting Friends' meetings along to the north, many not of our Society coming to them, among whom we often had good service, to our and their satisfaction, as they often declared, Richard Gove being still with me. Friends from their National Meeting certified to our brethren in America, of our service and labor of love among them, after we had travelled several hundred miles, and visited Friends' meetings generally, and some other places where it was not usual. While I was in Ireland, under a concern for the prosperity of truth and religion, I wrote an exhortation to the youth and others, which was afterwards printed there.

We took ship in the north of Ireland at a town called Donaghadee, being accompanied by divers brethren, who brought us on our way after a godly sort. We got to Port Patrick, in Scotland, after about five hours' sail, in order to visit the few Friends that were scattered about in that part of

the nation. People in those parts looked very shy on us, and did not care to discourse with us on matters civil or religious, which I thought unreasonable. The first town or city we came to, in which we had a meeting, was Glasgow, accounted the second city in North Britain, where, in our meeting for the worship of the Almighty, we were shamefully treated by the people, who threw dirt, stones, coal, etc. amongst us, and by other actions unbecoming men, though heathens or infidels, much more people professing Christianity. I was constrained to tell them, that, though I had preached the gospel to many heathens, and to divers Jews, as also to Indians and Negroes, and had travelled in many countries and nations in the world, in several quarters thereof, and many thousands of miles, yet I never met with the like incivilities and such scurrilous treatment, not in all my travels. I also told them, that I had preached the gospel of Christ among their brethren in New England, and in Boston, where they formerly hanged the Quakers, and cruelly persecuted them for their religion, and yet they did not treat us so brutishly even there. And further, I told them that I lived in those parts of America, and what account I should have to carry home to their aforesaid brethren, of our treatment in Glasgow, the second city in Scotland. I desired them to consider of it, and be ashamed, if they had any shame. This a little abashed them for the present, but afterwards they were as bad as ever. There were at this meeting some collegians, who were

very rude. I asked if that was their way of treating strangers? and that I believed their teachers in the university did not allow of such ill manners, by which they scandalized themselves, their city, and country. From this city we went to Hamilton and Gersshore, where they were more civil. At Gersshore, a man of letters and sober conversation begged that I would pray to the Almighty, that he would establish him in the doctrine which he had heard that day. This being rare in those parts, I minute it here. We went on towards the North of Scotland, to Aberdeen, and thereabouts, where there is a tender-hearted people, among whom we had several large gatherings, and some that were not of us expressed their satisfaction. In the north I met with a gentleman who, coming from a nobleman's house, joined me, and asked me, "If I knew Robert Barclay?" I said, not personally, but by his writings I knew him well. He told me, "That he [Barclay] had not left his fellow in Scotland."

We afterwards travelled southward, where there were but few Friends and small meetings; yet we may say, that the goodness, love, and presence of Him who said, "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them," were oftentimes witnessed to be with us, blessed be his holy name. Oh! that the children of men would praise him in thought, word, and deed, for he is worthy. In great reverence and holy fear, we travelled along towards South Britain, had several meet-

ings at Edinburgh and divers other places ; also at Berwick upon Tweed, where there were many soldiers, who were very rude. The devil hath had many battles with us ever since we were a people, in order to hinder us in our worship, but we generally came off with victory, as we did here also, through faith in His name who hath loved us, and manifested himself to us. Those rude soldiers threw their hats into the congregation, in order to disturb us, and hinder us in our service, but were at last ashamed and disappointed.

At this place my dear friend and fellow-traveller, Richard Gove, and I parted. I was going by the east sea-coast up to London, and he inclined towards Cumberland. We had travelled about a year in the work of the ministry, in great love and true friendship, in which work we were true helpers one of another ; and as we had labored together in the work of Christ, so we parted in his love. From Berwick I travelled to Newcastle ; had one meeting by the way, and good meetings at Newcastle, Sunderland, Shoten, and Durham, and several other places in the bishopric of Durham. The winter coming on apace, it began to be bad travelling ; and I being already much spent by it, designed to go speedily up to London ; and taking some meetings in my way, as at Stockton, Whitby, Scarborough, Burlington, Hull, and Brigg, and so on through Lincolnshire, where I went to visit a Friend who was prisoner in the castle of Lincoln, because for conscience' sake,—he could not pay an ungodly priest the tithes of his labor. From Lincoln

I proceeded to Huntingdon, about which place we had several large meetings; then to Baldock, where I met with my father and John Gopsil, who came from London to meet me, which was a joyful meeting, for I had not seen my father for about nine years. The love and tenderness between us, and our gladness in seeing each other again, cannot well be expressed, but I believe it was somewhat like Jacob and Joseph's meeting in Egypt; it was affecting and melting; blessed be the Almighty that gave me once more to see my tender and aged parent! From Baldock we went to Hitchin, and had a meeting there, as also at Hertford, from whence, with several Friends, I went to Enfield, where I met with my dear and only brother, George, and several of my relations and our friends; and we were heartily glad to see one another. From Enfield we went to London, and by the way we met with several Friends of the meeting of Horslydown, to which I belonged from my childhood, who came to meet me, and accompanied us to London.

I stayed in and about the city most of the winter, visiting meetings when I was in health; for, through often changing climates, I got a severe cold, and was ill for several weeks, so that I was not at any meeting, which time was very tedious to me; not so much because of my illness, as that I was deprived of the opportunities and meetings which occur in that city every day of the week, except the last. When I had a little gotten over this illness, I went into Hertfordshire and some parts adjacent, and had meetings at

Staines, Langford, Uxbridge, Walford, Hempstead, Bendish, Albans, Market street, Hitchin, Hertford, Hodgdon, and then returned again to London.

After I had been in London a while, I visited several other country meetings, as Winchmore-hill, Tottenham, Wansworth, Plaistow, Deptford, and Epping, and then stayed about London some weeks, waiting for a passage for Holland, which I intended to visit before I left my own habitation.

On the 14th of the First month, 1708-9, my companion, John Bell, and I, after having acquainted our friends and relations, and having their consent, took our solemn leave of them and went down to Gravesend, where we stayed two or three days for a fair wind. We then went on board the ship "Ann," John Duck, master, bound for Rotterdam, in company with a fleet of vessels waiting for wind, etc. When the wind was fair we sailed for the coast of Holland, and when we arrived, the wind was contrary, and blew very hard, so that some of the ships in company lost their anchors, but in a day or two we all arrived safely at Rotterdam, in Holland; being but two days on the passage. On First-day morning we went to meeting at Rotterdam, where Friends have a meeting-house; and we stayed at this city seven or eight days, and had six or seven meetings, and were comforted with our brethren and sisters, and greatly refreshed in the Lord Almighty. At this city we spoke without an interpreter, because most in the meeting understood English. From Rotterdam we travelled by the Trek-

skuyt, a boat drawn by horses, which is a pleasant easy way of travelling, to a large town called Harlem, where we had a meeting, and spoke by an interpreter; to which meeting came divers of those people called Menonists: they were very sober and attentive; stayed all the time of the meeting, and spoke well of it. From Harlem we went to Amsterdam, the metropolis of Holland, where Friends have a meeting-house. Here we had several meetings, and stayed about a week. On the First day we had a large meeting, to which came many people of divers persuasions and religions, as Jews, Papists, and others; and we had a good opportunity among them, and several were tender. A Jew came next day to speak with us, and acknowledged, "That Christ was the minister of that sanctuary and tabernacle that God had pitched, and not man; and that he was sensible of the ministry of Christ in his soul; and (said he) my heart was broken while that subject was spoken of in the meeting." I was glad to see the man tender and reached; but too generally speaking, the poor Jews, the seed of good Jacob, are very dark and unbelieving. I have met with but very few of them in my travels who have been tender; but I do love them for Abraham's, Isaac's, and Jacob's sake. At this meeting, William Sewel, the author of the "History of the Rise and Progress of the people called Quakers," a tender-spirited, upright man, interpreted for me. From Amsterdam we went to North Holland, and John Claus and Peter Reyard went with us to interpret for



us ; so by boat we travelled to a town called Twisk, where we had two meetings, Friends having a meeting-house there. We went back again to Amsterdam, and had two large meetings on First day ; and on Second day in the evening we went on shipboard, in order to cross the South Sea to Harlingen, at which place we had two meetings, and we and Friends were glad to see one another ; and, indeed, we being as one family all the world over, are generally glad to see each other. From this place we travelled eastward, through East Friesland, and went through several great towns and cities, until we came to Embden, the chief city in East Friesland, where we had a comfortable meeting by the bed-side of one of our friends who lay sick ; and several of her neighbors came in and stayed till the meeting ended ; some of them were very tender and loving, and wished us well, and were well satisfied. After meeting we set forward for Hamburg, it being four days journey by wagon, and passed along through divers towns and cities ; we also travelled through the city of Oldenburg, and a place of great commerce called Bremen. A magistrate of this city took notice of us, joined himself to us, and went with us to the inn, and then very lovingly took leave of us, and desired God to bless us. The people at our inns were generally very loving and kind to us, and some would admire at my coming so far only to visit my friends, without any view of advantage or profit outwardly. When we got to Hamburg, we had a meeting at Jacob Hagen's, and those who were there

were well satisfied with the doctrine of truth ; blessed be God, who, I may say, was with us at that time and place ! At Hamburg there was at meeting one who had preached before the king of Denmark ; who, as I understood by our interpreter, was turned out of his place for declaring the same truths that we had preached that day ; at which meeting were Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Menonists, Jews, etc. All of them were sober, and generally expressed their satisfaction. I had so much comfort in that meeting, that I thought it was worth my labor in coming from my habitation ; the answer of peace was so sweet to my soul, that I greatly rejoiced in my labor in the work of Christ. From hence I travelled to Frederickstadt, it being two days' journey, where Friends have a meeting-house. We stayed about ten days, and had nine meetings in this city. Some of the meetings were very large, and the longer we stayed, the larger they were. Frederickstadt is a city in the dominions of the duke of Holstein, and was the farthest place to which we travelled eastward ; and from thence I wrote a small piece, called, "A loving invitation unto young and old in Holland and elsewhere ;" which was translated into the German and Low-Dutch languages : and divers impressions of it were also printed in England.

We travelled in this journey through some parts of the Emperor of Germany's dominions, as also of the kings of Denmark and Swedeland, and of the Duke of Oldenburg, and Prince of East Friesland's territories, besides some parts of the seven provinces of the United

States. We parted with our friends of Frederickstadt in much love and tenderness, with our hearts full of good will one towards another, and went back to the city of Embden, a nearer way by two days' journey, than to go by Hamburg. We crossed the rivers Eider, Elfe, and Weser; over which last we were rowed by three women. The women in these parts of the world are strong and robust, and used to hard labor. I have seen them do not only the work of men, but of horses; it being common with them to do the most laborious, and the men the lightest and easiest work. I remember that I once saw, near Hamburg, a fair, well-dressed woman, who by her dress and appearance was a woman of some note, and a man whom I took to be her husband walking by her, and the way difficult, being up a very steep hill, and he did not so much as offer his hand, or give any assistance to her; which, however it might look to a man of that country, seemed very strange to me, being a Briton. For my part, I thought it unmanly, as well as unmannerly; on which I observe, that I never in any other part of the world saw women so tenderly dealt by as our English women are, which they ought to prize highly, and therefore to be the more loving and obedient to their husbands; which indulgence I blame not, but commend, so far as it is a motive to stir them up to love and faithfulness.

In this journey between Frederickstadt and Embden we had four days' hard travelling, and were twice overturned out of our wagons, but we received no harm,

which was admirable to us ; for once we fell, wagon and all, over a great bank, just by the side of a large ditch, and did but just save ourselves out of the ditch. The next time we overset upon stones : we wondered that none of us were hurt, particularly myself, I being much heavier than any of the rest ; but through the mercy of God, we got well to Embden the second time, and had a meeting upon a First day, and immediately after we took ship for Delfzeel, which was from Embden about nine or ten English miles, by water, and with a fair gale of wind got there in less than two hours. We spoke by interpreters all along, and were divinely helped to preach the gospel to the satisfaction of others, and our own comfort ; and the Friend who interpreted for us was sensible of the same divine assistance, to his admiration, for which we were all truly thankful. But notwithstanding we were so opened, to the satisfaction of ourselves, our friends, and the people, yet we were sometimes emptied to exceeding great spiritual poverty, and in the sense of our want and need we did many times pour out our souls in humble prayer and supplication to the Most High, for his help and strength, that it might be made manifest to us in our weakness ; and we found him a God near at hand, and often a present help in the needful time, and had a sweet answer to our prayers. O that my soul, with all the faithful, may dwell near to Him, in whom alone is the help and strength of all his faithful servants and ministers ! Amen.

From Delfzeel we went to Gröningen, the chief city in Gröningland, and to a town named Goradick, where we had a meeting with a few Friends and some of their neighbors. It was to us a comfortable meeting, and they were glad of it, being but seldom visited by Friends. From this place we travelled by wagon to Hervine, where we lodged that night, and next day went by wagon to Leuwarden. It happened that we had generally very fine weather while in those open wagons, in which we travelled several hundred miles, so that Jacob Claus, our companion and interpreter, though he had travelled much, said he never had observed the like before; which observation I thought good to make, with thanks to the Almighty.

From the city of Leuwarden we came by water to Harlingen, where Friends were glad to see us, and we them. We had a good and comfortable meeting in Friends' meeting-house, blessed be the Lord for it! From hence we crossed the South Sea, and had a contrary wind, which made our passage long and tedious. We were two days and two nights on this water before we got to Amsterdam, in all which, and the next day, I tasted no food, being three days fasting. I was willing to keep my body under, and found it for my health, neither had I any desire for food in those three days, in which time we had two meetings. We arrived at Amsterdam about the sixth hour on First-day morning, and had two meetings that day, which were quiet, and many people came to one of them: but we could not be clear without going again to

North Holland. So from Amsterdam we went to Horn, where we had a meeting in the collegian's meeting-house, and it was to satisfaction : the people were very loving, and divers very tender, even more than we have usually seen. They desired another meeting, but our time would not admit of it, we having appointed a meeting at Twisk the next day, which we had in the meeting-place, as also another at a Friend's house. Next day we returned to Amsterdam, and had a meeting, which began about the fifth hour, which was the last meeting we had in this city, and I hope it will not easily be forgotten by some. After it we solemnly took our leave of Friends, and departed for Harlem, where we were well refreshed in the love and life of Christ Jesus, our dear Lord and good Master. From Harlem we went with several Friends to Rotterdam, where we had two meetings, and in the evening visited a Friend who was not well, with whom we had an affecting time, and the sick Friend was comforted and refreshed, and said she was much better than before ; and we were edified, and the Lord our God praised and magnified over all, who is blessed forever.

In those parts, viz., Holland, Friesland, Germany, etc., we travelled nine hundred and seventy-two English miles, all in wagons and vessels. We came not on a horse's back all the time. We stayed about nine weeks in those countries, travelling and getting meetings where we could, which were to the number of forty-five, thus accounted : at Rotterdam, ten ; Har-

lem, three; Amsterdam, ten; Twisk, four; Harlingen, three; Horn, one; Hamburg, one; Embden, two; Frederickstadt, ten; Goradick, one.

All these are large cities, except Twisk and Goradick.

From Rotterdam we took ship for London, and on the 30th of the Third month, 1709, sailed down the river Meuse to the Briel, in the ship "Ann," John Duck, master, but he missing the convoy, we took our passage in the packet; and from Helvoetsluys sailed over to Harwich, and safely arrived in our native land, blessing Almighty God for his many preservations and deliverances by sea and land.

About this time, after a long continuance of war, there was great talking of peace; but the old enemy to peace, truth, and righteousness broke it off by his evil working in man: neither can there be any lasting peace, until the nations come to witness the peaceable government and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, set up and established in themselves. The Lord bring it to pass, if it be his blessed will, with speed, for his holy name's sake! Amen.

As I have had great peace and satisfaction in my travels in Holland and Germany, so, for inciting others under the like exercise, I may truly say, that there is encouragement for faithful ministers to labor in the work of the gospel. I know not that I ever met with more tenderness and openness in people than in those parts of the world. There is a great people whom they call Menonists, who are very

near to truth, and the fields are white unto harvest among divers of them, spiritually speaking. Oh! that faithful laborers, not a few, might be sent of God Almighty into the great vineyard of the world, is what my spirit breathes to him for.

After lodging one night at Harwich, we came to Ipswich, and from thence to Colchester, where we stayed on First day and had two meetings; and had a meeting at Birch and Coggeshall, and then back to Colchester, where we took coach for London, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends, which was very large. I gave a short account of my travels to the said meeting, with which Friends were satisfied, and made a minute thereof. I had been about twenty months from my habitation, and from my dear and affectionate wife, and from any trade or business, being all that time wholly given up in my mind to preach the glorious gospel of God our Saviour, without any outward consideration whatever, taking my great Master's counsel; as I had freely received from him, so I freely gave; and had that solid peace in my labors which is of more value than gold, yea, than all the world.

From the Yearly Meeting I travelled through some parts of most of the counties in England, and also in Wales: in which service I labored fervently, and often travelled hard, in body and mind, until the next Yearly Meeting, 1710; having travelled that year about two thousand five hundred miles, and had nearly three hundred public meetings, in many of which there were much people, and oftentimes great



openness. Being at so many Friends' houses and meetings, if I was to be particular, it would be too voluminous, for which, and some reason beside, I only give a general account thereof.

In this year, 1710, my dear friend and fellow-traveller, Richard Gove, departed this life at Uxbridge, about fifteen miles from London, at our friend Richard Richardson's house. He died of a consumption. We travelled together in great love and unity, and the Lord blessed his work in our hands. We were in company in the West India islands, Ireland, and North Britain, till we came to Berwick on Tweed. We met together again at London, and he visited some other parts of Britain in the time I was in Holland and Germany. He was an inoffensive, loving Friend, and had a sound testimony,—which was serviceable and convincing,—and was well beloved in Philadelphia, where he lived. He left a good savor and report behind him, I think, wherever he travelled.

At this General Meeting in London I had a good opportunity to take leave of my dear friends and brethren in my native land, not expecting to see it, or them, any more. Oh! I may truly say, it was a solemn parting! a solemn time to me indeed. After the Yearly Meeting was over, I took my passage in the "Mary Hope," John Annis, master, bound for Philadelphia; and on the 29th of the Fourth month, 1710, at Gravesend, after having taken a solemn leave of our relations, and several of my dear friends, we set sail and overtook the Russian fleet at Harwich, joined

it, and sailed as far as Shetland, which is northward of the Isles of Orkney. We were with the fleet about two weeks, and then left it, and sailed to the westward for America. In this time we had rough seas, which made divers of us sea-sick. After we left Shetland, we were seven weeks and four days at sea before we saw the land of America, and glad we were when we got sight thereof. In this time we had divers sweet and solemn meetings, on First days and Fifth days, wherein we worshipped and praised the great Jehovah, and many things were opened in the spirit of love and truth, to our comfort and edification. We had one meeting with the Germans or Palatines on the ship's deck, and one who understood both languages interpreted for me. The people were tender and wrought upon, behaved soberly, and were well satisfied: and I can truly say, I was well satisfied also.

In this voyage we had our health to admiration; and I shall mention one thing worthy of notice. Some of my loving and good friends in London, fearing a sickness in the ship, as she was but small, and considering there were so many souls on board, being ninety-four in number, for that and other reasons, advised me not to go in her; for they loved me well, and I took it kindly of them. But I could not be easy to take their advice, because I had been long from my habitation and business, and which was yet more, from my dear and loving wife; and notwithstanding the vessel was so full and crowded, and also

several of the people taken into the ship in the river Thames, yet they mended on board the vessel apace, and were soon all brave and hearty, being perfectly recovered at sea, and the ship, through the providence of the Almighty, brought them all well to Philadelphia, in the Seventh month, 1710. I think I never was in a more healthy vessel, and I thought this a peculiar favor worthy to be recorded by me. We had a very pleasant passage up the river Delaware, to our great satisfaction, the Palatines being wonderfully pleased with the country, greatly admiring the pleasantness and the fertility of it. Divers of our people went on shore and brought fruit on board, which was the largest and finest they had ever seen, as they said, such as apples, peaches, etc.

I was from my family and habitation in this journey and travel, for the space of three years, within a few weeks; in which time, and in my return, I had sweet peace to my soul; glory to God for evermore! I had meetings every day when on land, except Second and Seventh days, when in health, and nothing extraordinary hindered, and had travelled by sea and land, fourteen thousand three hundred miles, according to our English account. I was kindly and tenderly received by my friends, who longed to see me, as I did them, and our meeting was comfortable and pleasant.

After this long travel and voyage, I stayed at home and looked after the little family which God had given me, and kept duly to meetings, except something ex-

traordinary hindered. Divers people when I came home, raised a false report of me, and said I had brought home a great deal of money and goods, which I got by preaching. This was utterly false and base; for I brought neither money nor goods, so much as to the value of five pounds, except my wearing apparel. My case was so much the reverse, that I borrowed money at London to pay for my accommodations home, which I faithfully remitted back again to my friend who lent it to me; and if I might have gained a hundred pounds per annum, it would not have tempted me to undertake that, or another such journey. Soon after my return home, I visited a few neighboring meetings, which were large and edifying, Friends being glad to see me; and I did, as I had reason to do, bless the holy name of the Lord, for his many preservations and deliverances by sea and land.

## CHAPTER IV.

1710-1721.

Death of his Wife—Various Journeys—Dispute with a Priest—Charleston—Virginia—Second Marriage—Two Voyages to Bermuda—Destructive Hurricane—Voyage Home—Threatened Starvation—Remarkable Supply of Food—Service about Home—Voyage to Barbadoes and England—Writes “Scruple of Conscience about Prayer,” etc.—Natural Curiosities—Writes “Observations on Christ’s Sermon on the Mount”—Return Home—Sails again to Barbadoes and England—Considerations respecting Business—Incidents of Voyage—Return Home.

AFTER some stay at Philadelphia, I went down with my wife and family into Maryland, to a corn-mill and saw-mill which I had there, in order to live there some time and settle my affairs. While there, my dear wife was taken ill of a sore disease, and I was desirous of getting her up to Philadelphia. She was carried as far as Chester in a horse-litter, where she continued for some months in extreme pain, at the house of our very kind friends, David and Grace Lloyd, whose kindness to us in that trying and exercising time was great, and is not to be forgotten by me. From Chester we removed her in a litter, accompanied by our friends, to Philadelphia, where she continued very ill all that winter, often thinking

that death tarried long, and crying mightily to the Lord, "Oh! come away! come away!" This was her cry day and night, till at last she could speak no more. As we had lived together in great love and unity, being very affectionate one to another, so, being now left alone, I was very solitary, and sometimes sorrowful, and broken into many tears, in the sense of my loss and lonesomeness. My dear wife was a virtuous young woman, and one who truly feared God and loved his dear Son; from whom she had received a good gift of the ministry, and was serviceable to many therein. I had five children by her, four sons and one daughter, all of whom I buried before her, under three years old. At the Yearly Meeting before she died, she was so wonderfully carried forth in her ministry by divine grace, that divers of her friends believed she was near her end, she signifying something to that effect in her testimony, and that she should not live to see another Yearly Meeting; and so it came to pass; for she died before another Yearly Meeting, being aged about thirty-five years, and a married woman about thirteen years. Her body was carried to the meeting-house in Philadelphia, and buried in Friends' burying-ground, being accompanied by many hundreds of our Friends in a solemn manner; and my heart was greatly broken in consideration of my great loss; and being left alone, as to wife and children, I many times deeply mourned, though I well knew my loss was hers and their gain!

I now gave up my time mostly to travelling, for

about the space of two years, in which I visited the meetings of Friends in the provinces of Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, back to Philadelphia, and then to New Jersey again : also to Long Island, Rhode Island, Conanicut Island, Nantucket Island, and New England, and through those parts on my return to Philadelphia. In these journeys I travelled some thousands of miles, and had many large meetings, some in places where there had not been any before ; and some were convinced, and many would acknowledge to the testimony of truth which was declared by the help and grace of Christ ; and many times, by the assistance of that grace, my heart was wonderfully opened to the people.

In Virginia I had a meeting at James river, where a priest of the Church of England, with some of his hearers, made some opposition after our meeting was over, and were for disputing about religion ; and he openly declared, "The Spirit was not his guide nor rule ; and he hoped, never should be. But," he said, "the Scriptures were his rule, and that there was no need of any other ; and that they were as plain as Gunter's line, or as one, two, three." I told him the Scriptures were a good secondary rule, and that it were well if men would square their lives according to their directions ; which we, as a people, exhorted all to : but that the holy Spirit, from which the holy Scriptures came, must needs be preferable to the letter that came from it. I also asked him how he, or any one else, without the light or influence of the holy

Spirit, could understand the Scriptures, which were parabolically and allegorically expressed in many places? And further, to use his own expression, how could any understand Gunter's line without Gunter's knowledge? or without they were taught by Gunter, or some other? Neither can we be the sons of God, without the spirit of God. Which he answered not, but went away.

In New England, one Joseph Metcalf, a Presbyterian teacher at Falmouth, wrote a book entitled, "Legal forcing a maintenance for a minister of the gospel, warrantable from Scripture," etc. This book, a Friend of Sandwich gave me, and desired I would answer it; and finding some exercise on my mind for the cause of Truth, I was willing to undertake it; and accordingly wrote an answer thereto, which I called, "Forcing a maintenance, not warrantable from the holy Scriptures, for a minister of the gospel." I endeavored to set the texts of Scripture in a true light, which he had darkened and misrepresented by his chimerical doctrines.

In this year, 1713, I went from Philadelphia, in the "Hope" galley, John Richmond, master, to South Carolina. We were about a month at sea; and when it pleased God that we arrived at Charleston, in South Carolina, we had a meeting there, and divers others afterwards. There are but few Friends in this province, yet I had several meetings in the country. The people were generally loving, and received me kindly. What I had to declare to them, I always



desired to speak to the witness of God in the soul, and according to the pure doctrine of Truth in the holy Scriptures; and there was openness in the people in several places. I was several times to visit the governor, who was courteous and civil to me. He said I "deserved encouragement," and spoke to several to be generous, and contribute to my assistance. He meant an outward maintenance; for he would have me encouraged to stay among them. But I told him that, though it might be a practice with them to maintain their ministers, and pay them money for preaching, it was contrary to our principles to be paid for preaching, agreeably to the command of our great master, Christ Jesus, who said to his ministers, "Freely ye have received, freely give:" so that we are limited by his words, whatever others are: and those who take a liberty contrary to his doctrine and command, I think must be antichrists, according to holy Scripture. The longer I stayed there, the larger our meetings were; and when I found myself free and clear of those parts, I took my passage for Virginia in a sloop, Henry Tucker, master. I had a comfortable and quick passage to James river, it being about two hundred leagues. The master of the vessel told me, "That he believed he was blessed for my sake." I wished him to live so as that he might be blessed for Christ's sake. Some reformation was begun on him in our voyage; which was the goodness of God, through Christ, to him, and not to be attributed to me any further than an instrument

in the divine hand; for of ourselves we cannot do anything that is good, it being by grace, through faith, that we are saved, which is God's gift to the soul.

After I had been some time in Virginia, I got a passage up the bay of Chesapeake, and had several meetings in Maryland, Friends being glad to see me; and we were comforted in Christ, our Lord. I made some little stay at a place I had in that province, called Longbridge, and then returned to Philadelphia, where I lodged at the house of my very kind friends, Richard and Hannah Hill, and was oftentimes at divers neighboring meetings, and sometimes had good service therein.

About this time I had an inclination to alter my condition to a married state; and Martha, the widow of Joseph Brown, appearing to be a suitable person for me, on the 15th of the Second month, 1714, we were joined together in marriage, with the unity of Friends in general. We had a large meeting at our marriage, the solemnization thereof being attended with the grace and goodness of God; and for example sake we made but little provision for our guests; for great entertainments at marriages and funerals began to be a growing thing among us, which was attended with divers inconveniences.

My wife was a sober and religious young woman, and of a quiet natural temper and disposition; which is an excellent ornament to the fair sex; and indeed it is so to both male and female; for, according to the

holy Scriptures, "A meek and quiet spirit is with the Lord of great price."

I was at divers Yearly Meetings in 1715, viz., at Choptank, in Maryland; at Shrewsbury and Salem, in New Jersey; all which meetings were very large and comfortable; many things being opened therein, tending to convincing and establishing the people in the truth and doctrine of Christ. I was likewise at divers other meetings in those provinces, which were large and satisfactory.

At Salem Yearly Meeting I was sent for to the prison, where there was a young woman who was to be tried for her life. She desired that I would pray for her, and charged me to warn the young people to be careful not to keep bad company; "for," said she, "it has been my ruin, and brought me to this shame and reproach." She had been tenderly brought up and educated. I knew her when she wore a necklace of gold chains, though now she wore iron ones. Upon which subject I had afterwards a large opportunity to speak to the people in a very moving manner; which seemed very much to affect the youth and others in the meeting, which consisted of many hundreds of people. I saw this young woman afterwards, the jury acquitting her; and I told her that her life was given her for a prey; and reminded her how it was with her when she was in prison in chains; and I advised her to walk more circumspectly for the future; which she said she hoped she should do.

In the year 1716 I had some concerns which drew

me to the island of Bermuda, where I went twice that summer. My family increasing, I traded a little to sea for their support and maintenance; and I can truly say, I carried on my affairs and business in the fear of God, having an eye or regard therein, more to his glory than to my own interest. We had a rough passage to this island in the first voyage, and were forced by distress of weather to cast some of our goods into the sea; and the storm being very violent, some of the seamen thought we should be devoured by the waves. As for me, they had shut me up in the cabin alone, all in darkness, and the water came in so that they were forced to take it out in buckets. When the storm was a little over, the master came to me and asked, "How I did all alone in the dark?" I told him pretty well; and said to him I was very willing to die, if it so pleased God; and indeed I expected no other at that time. After this great storm was over, we arrived at Bermuda in a few days. Going into the harbor, the bottom of the vessel struck the rocks, but we got well in; for which I was thankful to the Almighty. I stayed on the island about a month, and had several meetings; to some of which many came who were not called Friends. They were all sober, and some well satisfied; and the people of the island generally received me lovingly, and were very kind to me. Our ancients, who bore the burden and heat of the day, met with very different treatment. I tenderly desire that we who

come after them, may be truly humble and thankful to the Almighty for all his mercies.

By reason of my outward affairs, I had opportunities with some persons of great note and business on this island, and sometimes opened the principles of Friends to their satisfaction; some of them told me, "They never understood so much concerning our Friends before; and if what I said was true, they had been misinformed." Divers such opportunities I had with several on this island, there being but very few of our Society.

These are called the Summer Islands, or Bermudas, there being many little islands in the midst of the main island, in form like a horse-shoe: they are about two hundred leagues distant from the Capes of Delaware. It is rare to see hail, snow, or ice there.

After I had done my business, and had been for some time on the island, I had a ready and comfortable passage home, where I was joyfully received.

After some little stay at home, I went a second time that summer to Bermuda, and then also I had some meetings, and did some business on the island. It was my constant care that my worldly affairs should not hinder me in my religious concern for the good of souls. It happened at this time there was a mighty hurricane of wind, that blew many houses to the ground, and very many trees up by the roots, and rent rocks asunder, of which I was an eye-witness: though it is to be observed, that those rocks in the Summer Islands are not so hard as in some other

parts of the world, particularly to the northward; for here they saw them with saws, and cut them with axes like wood. I was told there were sixty sail of vessels then at these islands, and all were driven on shore but three, and ours was one of the three that rode out the storm; for which I was truly thankful. In this great storm, or hurricane, several sloops were driven upon dry land, so that, after the storm was over, one might go round them at high water, and several were blown off the dry land into the water. One that was ready to be launched, though fastened on the stocks with two cables and anchors put deep in the ground, yet the violence of the wind blew her into the water, and dashed her to pieces.

About this time the Bermuda people had got a vast treasure of silver and gold out of the Spanish wrecks; and at a meeting which I had on the First day of the week before the hurricane, or storm of wind, it came weightily on my mind to exhort them not to be lifted up therewith, nor exalted with pride: for I declared to them, that the same hand which took it from the Spaniards, could take it from those who had now got it out of the sea; and if He pleased, by the same way; which was a storm that cast away the ships going for Spain. And indeed so it happened the same week; for it was reckoned by men of experience and judgment, that they lost more by the storm than they had gained by the wrecks of the Spaniards. A sober old man, not of our profession, told me, the next day after the hurricane was over, that what I spoke

in the meeting was soon come to pass; and he added, I was a true prophet to them. Many houses that were not blown down were uncovered. My landlord's house being old, several thought it would be down; but by the good providence of God, it was one of those which stood. I was in my store, which stood also, though I expected every minute when it would have been blown down. It was by the mercy of God we were preserved, and not for any merit of ours. I entreated the Lord in the midst of this great wind, that he would please to spare the lives of the people; for many of them being seafaring men, were very unfit to die; at which time I thought I was sensible of the answer of my prayer, and he was pleased to be entreated for them: for notwithstanding the violence of the storm, and the great destruction it made, yet not one man, woman, child, or creature was lost, that I heard of, in all the island, which was to me very admirable. The Friend of the house came to me after the storm abated, and said, "The Lord had heard my prayers for them." Although they could not, by any outward knowledge, know that I had prayed for them, yet they had a sense given them, that I was concerned for them before the Almighty; which indeed was true. Oh! that we may never forget the merciful visitations of the high and lofty One, who inhabits eternity!

While I was on the island I was invited to, and kindly entertained at, the houses of several of the gentry, and at the governor's, who invited me several

times to his house. Once I was with him and some of his chief officers at dinner, with divers of the first rank, where I was treated very kindly; and after dinner the governor's practice was to drink the king's health, and he hoped I would drink it with them. "Yes," said the rest at the table, "Mr. Chalkley (as they called me) will surely drink the king's health with us." So they passed the glass, with the king's health, till it came to me; when they all looked steadfastly, to see what I would do; and I looked as steadfastly to the Almighty, and said to them, "I love King George, and wish him as well as any subject he hath; and it is known to thousands that we pray for him in our meetings for the worship of Almighty God; but as to drinking healths, either the king's or any man's else, it is against my professed principle, I looking on it to be a vain, idle custom." They replied, "That they wished the king had more such subjects as I was; for I had professed a hearty respect for him:" and the governor and they all were very kind and friendly to me all the time I was on the island.

After I had finished my concerns, I embarked in the sloop "Dove," for Philadelphia, she being consigned to me in this and the former voyage. It being often calm and small winds, our provisions grew very scanty. We were about twelve persons in the vessel, great and small, and but one piece of beef left in the barrel; and for several days, the wind being contrary, the people began to murmur, and told dismal stories about people eating one another for want of provisions.



The wind being still against us, and, for aught we could see, likely to continue so, they murmured more and more, and at last against me in particular, because the vessel and cargo was consigned to me, and was under my care, so that my inward exercise about it was great. Neither myself, nor any in the vessel, imagined that we should be half so long as we were on the voyage; but since it was so, I seriously considered the matter; and to stop their murmuring, I told them they should not need to cast lots, which was usual in such cases, which of us should die first, for I would freely offer up my life to do them good. One said, "God bless you, I will not eat any of you." Another said, "He would die before he would eat any of me;" and so said several. I can truly say, that at that time my life was not dear to me, and that I was serious and ingenuous in my proposition; and as I was leaning over the side of the vessel, thoughtfully considering my proposal to the company, and looking in my mind to Him who made me, a very large dolphin came up towards the surface of the water, and looked me in the face. I called the people to put a hook into the sea and take him, for here is one come to redeem me, said I to them; and they put out a hook, and the fish readily took it, and they caught him. I think he was about six feet long, and the largest that ever I saw. This plainly showed us that we ought not to distrust the providence of the Almighty. The people were quieted by this act of Providence, and murmured no more. We caught enough to eat plentiful of till

we got into the Capes of Delaware. Thus I saw it was good to depend upon the Almighty, and rely upon his eternal arm; which, in a particular manner, did preserve us safe to our desired port. Blessed be his great and glorious name, through Christ, forever!

I now stayed at and about home for some time; after which I was concerned to visit Friends in several places, and in the adjacent provinces, as Maryland, New Jersey, etc., and was at many marriages and funerals, at which, many times we had good opportunities to open the way, and also the necessity, to be married to Christ Jesus, the great bridegroom of the soul; and also to exhort the people to consider and prepare for their latter end and final change; which many times was sanctified to divers souls, and the Lord's name was glorified, who is worthy thereof.

In the year 1717, I went into Maryland to look after my affairs in that province; and as I travelled, I had divers meetings at Nottingham, and at Bush river, about which time, at Bush river, several were convinced. The meeting I found in a growing condition in that which is good, several persons meeting together in silence to worship God, according to Christ's institution, which was, and is, and ever will be, in spirit and in truth. For the encouragement of all such, Christ hath said, that the Father seeketh such to worship him; and again, "Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." And if Christ be in the midst, there is no absolute need of vocal teaching, except it

be the will of the Lord to call any to it. Let the spiritual Christian read and judge.

After my return I had several meetings in the country, near Philadelphia; and about the latter end of the Eighth month I was at several marriages, one of which was on the Third day of the week, about fifteen miles above Philadelphia, over Delaware river; the next was over the river again, about twenty miles below the city; and the third was about twenty miles further down the river, and on the opposite side at Salem, on the following day; so that I crossed the Delaware river three times in three days, and rode about one hundred miles. The meetings were all large, and matter suitable to the occasion freely opened to the people. These remarks are not intended to set up man, or exalt flesh, but to stir up others to come up to the work of Christ in their generation. All the glory and goodliness of man is but as the grass, which soon withers, without we dwell in the root of true religion, and in the holy life of Christ. That God may have the glory of all his works, is the end of all the labors and travels of the servants and faithful ministers of Christ.

In the Tenth month, 1717, divers considerations moving me thereto, I took a voyage to Barbadoes in the "Snow Hope," J. Curtis, master, and from thence to Great Britain and London; partly on account of business, and hoping once more, if it pleased God, to see my aged father, my brother, relations, and friends; which voyage I undertook in the solid fear of God.

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I desired the concurrence of my wife, and my friends and brethren of the meeting to which I did belong, in this undertaking, the which I had in a general way, and the good wishes and prayers of many particulars, with a certificate from our Monthly Meeting, signifying their unity with my conversation and ministry, and present undertaking. I felt the love and goodness of God therein, but in many respects it was a great cross to me, especially leaving my beloved wife and children, and many of my dear friends, whom I loved well in Christ; and crossing the seas was always troublesome to me, being sickly, especially in windy or stormy weather. The confinement was worse to me for the time than a prison; for it would be much easier to me to be in prison on land upon a good account, than in prison at sea, I always looking on a ship to be a perilous prison, though it was my lot to be much therein. As for my natural life, I always gave it up whenever I went to sea; and I thought that was the least part of the hardship, never putting much value thereon. But to sea I went, for the reasons mentioned, and got from Philadelphia to Newcastle the first night in said vessel, and to Elsingburgh next day, where we lay for a fair wind about two days, then sailed to Bombay Hook, where we met with two other vessels bound to sea, who waited also for the wind. We lay there two nights, and on a First-day morning set sail, the weather being very cold, and the ice thick on the sides of our vessel and on our ropes. The day that

we left Bombay-hook we got out to sea, took in our boat, and went on our way; and in four or five days we got into warmer weather.

In this voyage I wrote something on the common prayer used by some of the Church of England, whose conversations were very loose and corrupt, which I entitled, "A truly tender scruple of conscience about that form of prayer called the common prayer, used by the Church of England and her members," etc.

In this voyage we saw several ships, but spoke with none; and in twenty-seven days from our capes we arrived at Barbadoes, and came to anchor in Carlisle bay.

I had been twice in Barbadoes before, but this was the quickest passage by one day. Here I was lovingly and tenderly received by my friends. I took my good friend Joseph Gamble's house for my quarters most of the time whilst I stayed on the island, and visited Friends' meetings several times over, there being five of Friends' meeting-houses in the island, and our meetings were sometimes large and open.

Our stay was longer than we at first expected, by reason of a great drought, they having no rain for more than a quarter of a year, which was a great hinderance to trade on the island. While I was here, our ancient Friend, George Gray, died. I was at his funeral, at which there were many people; and on this occasion we had a large meeting at our meeting-house at Speights-town, where I had a seasonable opportu-

nity with the people, opening to them the necessity of thinking of, and preparing for, their latter end; and pressed them earnestly thereto. They were generally attentive and sober, and some were broken into tenderness. While we were burying the Friend, there appeared a dismal cloud hanging over the island, such an one as I never saw before. I thought it was of the color of the flame of brimstone; and expected there would have been a great storm, or gust, and much rain, they having had very little for many weeks, or some months; but it went over, and there was no rain or wind as I remember. Soon after, some people came in from sea, and said it rained ashes from that cloud; and they brought some to the island, some of which ashes I now have before me: the taste of them seems to me to be a little sulphurous, and they have some glittering particles in them; in color and smell I think they differed little from common ashes. Herein the Almighty and Infinite Being signally showed his mercy and favor to poor mortals; for had not his mercy prevented, he could as easily have rained down the fire as the ashes. He rained fire and brimstone on the cities and inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah for their pride and idleness, much of which abounds among the inhabitants of Barbadoes, the people being very luxurious. Oh! may the inhabitants of that isle, and all others, consider their ways and doings, and not provoke the great Lord, the Sovereign of heaven and earth, as many of them do by their evil lives and voluptuous conversations. May they kiss the Son,

though not with a Judas kiss of profession, or speaking well or fairly of him only, but with divine love manifested through obedience, while his wrath is but a little kindled against them, and before it break out into a flame.

After this funeral I was sent for to Bridgetown, to the burial of a master of a ship, a young man, who was very fresh and well a few days before. There was a great appearance of people, and I was pretty largely opened in the meeting, on the words of the prophet, where he says, "All flesh is grass, and all the goodness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people are grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand forever." I treated of this Word, its wonderfulness, its duration, and its work in man; also of the fading constitution of mortal man, though young and strong, as that young man was a few days before, whose corpse was then before us.

I was at several other burials on this island, which proves a grave to many new-comers, it being a hot climate, and those who are not accustomed to it being very thirsty, and it is not easy to quench their thirst; so that what is called moderate drinking, throws many strangers into a violent fever, and oftentimes is the cause of their death. I note this as a caution to those who may transport themselves there, that they may shun that danger; which might be avoided by

drinking cool drinks, of which they have many sorts very pleasant, viz., cane, sugar-reed, and white sorrel, pine, orange, and divers others. I advise such, as they love their health, to refrain from drinking much hot drink or spirits.

I saw several natural curiosities on this island, which among the great numbers of the works of God do show forth his praise and glory. One to the leeward part of this island, which is called the spout, sends up a vast body of water into the air, occasioned by a great cavity in the rocks under the water, which may be seen in calm weather, when the sea is low. When the wind blows, a great body of water being pent in a large hollow place, it forces it up into the air, sometimes ten, fifteen, or twenty yards high, according as the strength of the wind is, and makes a report like a cannon, or thunder, a great way off. I believe I have seen it ten or twelve miles out at sea. I was also at a place called Oliver's Cave, which we got to with some difficulty in going down the steep and craggy rocks. There is on the outward part next the sea a very large vaulted place, in the form of a half circle, about one hundred feet high, as near as I could guess. In this large vault, behind a rock, is the mouth of the cave, not the height of a man at the first entrance; after going in a few yards, one may walk upright comfortably, the bottom being pretty plain and smooth for about a hundred yards, and then we come into a large cave which is formed arch-wise, and about ten or fifteen yards high, as we



thought, being much higher in the middle than at the sides, but almost as regular as if it had been done by art, which we beheld with admiration, by the help of wax candles and other lights that we made and carried for that purpose.

When I had done my business in Barbadoes, having been there about thirteen weeks, and loaded our vessel, we sailed the tenth of the Second month, 1718, for London.

We had a good passage, being five weeks and two days from Barbadoes to Great Britain, in which we saw several vessels at sea, but spoke with none. After sight of the land, we got in two days to Beachy-head, which is about fifteen leagues from the Downs or Deal. We sailed along the shore by Folkestone, where we took in a pilot, and had a comfortable passage through the Downs, and up the river Thames to London, where I met with my dear and aged father, and loving brother, sister and cousins, and many others of my near and dear relations and friends.

In this voyage I wrote some things which opened in my mind at sea, upon that excellent sermon of Christ's upon the mount, as it is recorded in the holy Scriptures of the New Testament, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the evangelist Matthew, but have since heard that the same is better done by an abler hand; and therefore it may suffice here to repeat the advice, which in the course of my travels I have often had occasion to give, viz., that the professors of Christianity should frequently read this

sermon, and be careful to practise the same; that they may not only be Christians in name, but in deed, and in truth.

After visiting my relations and some meetings of Friends in and about London, having finished my business, and being ready to return homeward, divers Friends accompanied us from London to Gravesend; and the wind not being fair, we went to Rochester, and had a meeting there, then back again to Gravesend, and there took a solemn farewell of our Friends, recommending one another to the grace of Christ, having this time made but little stay in Britain.

In the Fifth month, 1718, we sailed from the Downs in the aforesaid "Snow Hope," divers Friends, viz., John Danson, Isaac Hadwin, John Oxley, Lydia Lancaster, Elizabeth Rawlinson, and Rebecca Turner, being in company with us. After about nine weeks' passage from land to land, having had meetings on First and Fifth days on board, during the voyage, we came all safe and well to Philadelphia, through the blessing of God, where I stayed with my family a few months, and took another voyage for Barbadoes and Britain. I was under more than ordinary concern for the support and accommodation of my family, the circumstances thereof being a little changed by the increase of children, remembering the words of the apostle, that those who had not this care and concern, were worse than infidels: my Lord Jesus, whose servant I profess myself to be, also saying, "It is better to give than to receive." An opportunity offering of the consignment

of a vessel and cargo, the "Snow Hope," Warner Holt, master, to Barbadoes, and from thence to London, and so to make returns home again, for Philadelphia, I embraced it; though with reluctance to leave my very loving wife, children, and friends, all of whom I tenderly loved and respected. I also had in my eye an hope, through the blessing of God, to obtain wherewith to accommodate my friends, who were strangers and pilgrims in this world for Jesus' sake, as I also had been myself; and that they might find a place or home, and refreshment under my roof; not to excess, but to comfort and edification; which in sincerity is all the grandeur I covet or desire in this world. After due consideration, on the 2d day of the Eleventh month, 1718, we set sail from Philadelphia, many Friends taking their farewell of us for that voyage. Thus with hearts full of love and good will, we parted with our friends, and went down the river about five miles, where we ran aground, but got off next tide, and next day came to an anchor at Chester. On the 4th day of the month we set sail, and got to Newcastle about the eleventh hour; it being meeting-day, we went to meeting, where our great Lord was pleased in some good measure to own us with his living presence, and comfort us with his love; blessed be his holy Name! In the morning we sailed to Reedy Island, where we stayed for the tide, and in the night our cable parted, which we knew not of until morning, and then we had gone from the place where we anchored about a league: but though the vessel drove

about the river, yet she did not go aground. We dropped our other anchor, and sent the boat to seek for that which was parted from us, but could not find it until the next tide, and then could not get it up, and were unwilling to go to sea without it; which occasioned us to stay several tides before we could get it up; at last with much difficulty we weighed it, our men's clothes being much frozen, for it was very cold, and froze extremely hard. After this we went down to Bombay-hook, where was another vessel going out to sea. Next day the wind was against us, and it snowed much, and froze hard; and that night the river and bay were filled with ice as far as we could see, and it drove very hard against our vessel, so that we wished for day: for we thought sometimes it would have torn her bows into pieces; but our anchor and cable held us, we thought, to a miracle, for which we were thankful to the great Keeper of all those who put their trust in him. When the tide turned for us, we got up the anchor, and so let her drive with the ice down the bay; the other vessel did the same.

It was now dangerous moving, go which way we would. The vessel in company with us attempted to go back again, but seeing that we did not, as we supposed, came to anchor again, and we both went down the bay together; and the wind springing up fair, we got clear of the ice in a few hours' time. By this hinderance we could not get to sea that day, but were obliged to come to anchor near the middle of the great bay of Delaware, and the night being fair

and calm, we rode it out safely, which, if it had been windy weather, would have been dangerous. Early in the morning of the 9th of the month, we got to sea, and soon lost sight of the land. Next day the wind was high, and the weather proved stormy for several days, insomuch that our main-deck was under water most of the time, so that we were forced to go before the wind for several days together. We also shut up our cabin-windows, and were tossed exceedingly, and I was very sea-sick ; and we began in this storm to fear falling on the rocks of Bermuda, which we were near, as we imagined, and the wind set right on the island. When we had passed the latitude of Bermuda, we met with fair weather and winds, and all the remaining part of our passage was pleasant and comfortable. Thus I was led to consider the vicissitudes which mortals may expect while in this unstable life, which is full of changes ; and I strongly desired to be rightly prepared for that world which is eternal, and its joy and felicity permanent ; at which blessed port, I hope in God's time, through his grace, safely to arrive. Through storms, tempests, ice and snow, we left those frozen climes, and crossed the tropic of Cancer, between which and that of Capricorn there is neither frost nor snow at sea, at any time of the year, and the wind always nearly one way, viz., easterly, except in hurricanes and violent storms, which sometimes occur in those parts of the world. We arrived at Bridgetown, in Barbadoes, in twenty-one days, which was the quickest passage I ever had, this being

the fourth time of my coming hither, where I was always kindly received by my friends.

About this time war being declared against Spain by the king of Great Britain, proclamation thereof was made in Bridgetown, which put such a damp on trade, that there was little business, and the markets low and dull, which made my stay longer than I would have chosen. But my friends, among whom I had many opportunities, seemed rather pleased than otherwise; telling me, "That they did not care if I was to stay there always if it were my place:" and when I left Barbadoes, they gave me better credentials than I thought I deserved. A friend of mine giving me intelligence that the market was better at Antigua than at Barbadoes, I despatched my affairs and took part of our cargo there, and was kindly received by our friends. We were about three days on our passage, and had fine weather. At Antigua I had several meetings: my business at no time hindered me in my more weighty service; for I always, through divine help, made that give way to my religious duty, in which I ever found peace and inward satisfaction. In about five weeks I finished my business in this island, having no small satisfaction in coming to it; and our vessel being now loaded, we took our solemn leave, and, with the good wishes of many, departed for England.

Our friends there signified to their brethren, that they were glad of my company, and that I was serviceable to them, though I came upon business. My

hand, when need required, was to my business, but my heart was, and I hope is, and ever shall be, freely given up to serve the Lord, in that work whereunto I believe he has called me. We have liberty from God and his dear Son, lawfully, and for accommodation's sake, to work or seek for food and raiment; though that ought to be a work of indifferency, compared to the great work of salvation. Our Saviour saith, Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth forever, or to eternal life: by which we do not understand, that Christians must neglect their necessary occasions, and their outward trades and callings; but that their chief labor and greatest concern ought to be for their future well-being in his glorious kingdom. Why did our Lord say to his disciples, Children, have you any meat? and when they answered No, bid them cast their nets into the sea, and they drew to land a net full of great fishes? Fishing being their trade, no doubt but they sold them, for it was not likely that they could eat them all themselves. Also the apostle of Christ says, He that doth not take care of his family, is worse than an infidel: and the apostle Paul, the great apostle of the gentiles, wrought with his hands, even while he was on his travels in the work of the gospel; and others tasted of the benefit of his labor naturally, as well as spiritually. It is also written, he that will not work, shall not eat. By this, and much more, which might be noted, it appears that we not only have liberty to labor in moderation, but we are given

to understand that it is our duty so to do. The farmer, the tradesman, and the merchant, do not understand by our Lord's doctrine, that they must neglect their calling, or grow idle in their business, but must certainly work, and be industrious in their callings. We all ought to understand, that our hearts and minds ought to be out of the world, or above the nature and spirit of it. It is good and profitable for both soul and body, rightly to distinguish between earthly and heavenly things, and to be careful how we mix the one with the other; for it is an eternal truth, that God and mammon cannot dwell together, or join together in the heart. If our love is more to God than the creature, or to heaven than earth, then will he dwell in us, and with us: but if our love is more to the creature than to Christ, or to earth than heaven, then will he not dwell with us, but will leave us to ourselves; for the Lord Omnipotent will not admit of any rival.

On the 11th of the Fourth month, 1719, we left Antigua, stood close to the wind till we again crossed the tropic, and got into those latitudes where the winds are variable. Sailing in the great deep, we saw the wonders of the Lord, particularly in divers kinds of fish, they living upon one another in the sea, the great fishes on the small ones; and mankind too much resemble them in that respect. About the latitude of thirty-three degrees north, our master, Warner Holt, seeing a school of porpoises about the ship, took his harping-iron and struck one of them, out of which



we got eleven quart bottles of oil; and most of us ate heartily of this fish, which agreed with our people very well. They fried the liver for our mess, of which I ate; it was well tasted, and more like fresh beef than fish. I make this memorandum, that, if any should take them when their provisions are scarce, they may eat freely without danger, according to our experience. When we had been at sea about three weeks, being near the latitude of forty degrees north, and about the longitude of forty-two, though it was in the midst of summer, we saw an island of ice, at which we all marvelled, and judged that there had been a severely cold winter in those latitudes on the land of America. When we saw this island of ice, we judged ourselves not far from the banks of Newfoundland. Hitherto we had easy gales of wind and many calms, which made our passage seem long to us. We saw two sail of ships about those latitudes, but spoke with neither, being willing to shun them, as it was war time.

We had in this voyage weekly meetings for worshipping the Almighty, in which the great Lord both of sea and land was pleased to manifest his name and truth amongst us, for which my soul often secretly and openly blessed and praised his divine and glorious name and truth; for he bore up my drooping spirit, so that I could truly say with the royal psalmist, not because he spoke it only, but also from being an experimental witness thereof: "The floods have lifted up, O Lord! the floods have lifted up their voice: the floods lift up their waves. The Lord on

high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea." This the king wrote of his own experience in a spiritual sense; but I may say, without boasting, I have witnessed the rage and noise of mighty waves and waters, both natural and spiritual: the one, as though it would swallow up my reputation among men, and the other, as though it would swallow up my person in this voyage; but blessed be the name of Him who is holy and eternal, who indeed is stronger than the noise of many waters, or than the mighty waves of the sea, either inwardly or outwardly, I will through his strength magnify his name, because he is worthy: and may I do it forever!

About the 11th of the Fifth month we saw great flocks of birds, which we judged came from the Azores, or Western Islands, near which we reckoned ourselves to be. The 21st day we saw, and came up with a French ship, which had been fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and was bound for Havre-de-Grace, in France, the master of which came on board of us, and our captain went on board of them. We exchanged some rum and sugars, of our sea-stores, for French wine and cider, and some of our provisions for their fish. The captain was a Protestant, and very courteous to us: the Regent of France at this time being kind to the Protestants, so that they increased much in that kingdom. The Frenchman seeming desirous to know what religion I was of, I told him by an interpreter, that I was one called a

Quaker, or trembler, and that our principle was to do good to all men, and not to hurt any man, according to Christ's doctrine, not to render evil for evil, but to overcome evil with good. When they went away and took leave of us, they desired me to pray for them, the which I remembered with tenderness of spirit. Having but little wind, we kept company for several days; but the wind springing fair, we wished them well, and went on our way, our vessel outsailing most we met with; and a few days after we met with a New England ship, which came out six days before us from Antigua. We were then in latitude about fifty degrees north, and twenty-nine and a half longitude from the Land's-end of Great Britain. The 30th day of the Fifth month we sounded, and found ground at twenty-eight fathoms; and on the 1st day of the Sixth month we saw the Land's-end of England, all our company being in health and well; for which my heart was truly thankful to that great and infinite Being whose providence is over us poor mortals in all parts of the world, and who reigns over sea and land, and is worthy of adoration, worship, service, and living praise forever!

In a few days we came into the English channel, and while going up, there came one of the king's yachts, and pressed most of our men, taking from us our best hands and carrying them on board a man-of-war; after which we came to anchor at Folkstone, where I left the vessel, and got a horse to Dover, and there took coach to London. In the coach were some persons who began to talk about the Quakers, and

spoke against their plain way of living and clothing, and said, "They did not understand their unfashionable way of conversation; neither was it the way to gain proselytes." Upon which I asked them whether they understood Paul, the great apostle of the gentiles, who said, "Be ye not conformed to this world," *i. e.*, the fashions of it, for this reason, the world and the fashions thereof pass away; which is a great truth. We plainly see how fickle and changeable the world is in its vain fashions and customs, and to follow it in all its foolish cuts and turns, or changes, must make a man or woman very foppish and apish. I told them that our religion was agreeable to the holy Scriptures, which, if they did not understand, neither could they understand us; for the doctrine of Christ and his apostles was generally very plain therein; and the doctrine in Christ's excellent sermon on the mount is clear to very low or mean capacities. They discoursed no more of religion till we came to London. Here I met once more my loving and aged father, a man fearing God, and having a gift of the ministry of the gospel of Christ, and well beloved of his friends and neighbors, who, with others of my near and dear relations and friends, received me gladly.

After some months' stay among my relations and friends in London, we sold our vessel, the "Snow Hope," and bought a ship which we called the "Trine Hope," Warner Holt, master; and when I had done my business, I sailed in her for Pennsylvania. We had meetings on board the vessel twice a week, in which

the Almighty was pleased to favor us with his good presence. Sobriety, and the fear of God, and faith in his beloved Son, Christ, were often recommended to the youth on board the vessel with us, of whom there were several going to America, in order to settle there. At one meeting I was tenderly concerned to remind them of Jacob, who in his youth left his country and relations to sojourn in a strange land, and how in that undertaking he sought the Lord and his blessing, more than any outward thing; and that he was greatly blessed with many favors from heaven above, and also of the earth beneath, and they were advised to take him for their example. Many other things were tenderly opened to them in the love of God, and in his fear and counsel they were exhorted from time to time.

It being winter time, we sailed to the southward, and got into warm weather, and were on our passage seven weeks and some days, in which time we saw several vessels, and spoke one whose people said they were chased by a Turk, but got from him, at which they greatly rejoiced. We apprehended it was our ship that they saw overnight, for we saw a sail that crowded from us as fast as she could, and it being near night, we shortened sail, and she left us. In the morning we came up with her, and being pretty near, they and we put out our colors, and being both Englishmen, we spoke to each other, and were glad to meet with some of our own nation upon the great ocean; but our vessel sailing best, we took our leave of them, wishing them a good voyage. We met with

rough seas and high winds in the latter part of our passage, till we came to the capes of Delaware, which we all rejoiced to see ; and had a pleasant passage up the bay and river to Philadelphia, where I had once more a comfortable meeting with my dear wife and family, which I gratefully acknowledged as a high favor from the hand of the Almighty.

We arrived at Philadelphia the 1st of the Second month, 1720 ; after which I stayed about home for some time, and was not idle, but kept to my business, and to meetings ; and having a desire to see Friends in the province of Maryland, at their General Meeting at West river, I was accompanied by Isaac Norris and Thomas Masters, both sober young men. It had been a time of much rain, and the waters being high, going over a ford of Brandywine, my mare got among the rocks, it being a very rocky creek, and fell down. The stream being very strong, she rolled upon me, and being entangled with the stirrup, I could not easily clear myself, but I gave a spring, and swam from her. When I was clear I got to her again, and laid hold of her mane, and, through the good providence of God, got well out on dry land, which was a remarkable deliverance. In three days we got to West river, to the Yearly Meeting, which was large ; and Friends were glad to see me, I having not been there for several years. I was out on this journey about two weeks, and rode about three hundred miles ; and after coming home, I travelled much in the provinces of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

## CHAPTER V.

1721-1724.

Several Religious Visits — Extraordinary Circumstance related by J. Dickinson — Loss of Children — Faith and Works — Necessity for Adherence to Primitive Faith and Manners — Travels in New Jersey — Unjust Censures — Labors near Philadelphia — Epistle to Friends in Barbadoes — Journey to Long Island — Dispute about Conscience — Serious Accident — Letter respecting Baptism — Earthquake and Whirlwind — Sore Trials.

In the year 1721, Thomas Lightfoot and I, with William Brown, went to a meeting at Bush river, and going over Susquehanna ferry, the people were fiddling and dancing. When the dance was over, I asked them, believing them to be Protestants, if they thought Luther to be a good man? They replied, "Yes, there was no doubt of it." "Well," said I, "and so do I; and I will tell you what he says concerning dancing, 'That as many paces as a man takes in his dance, so many steps he takes towards hell;'" which spoiled their sport, and they went away, and we went on ours towards the meeting; and a good meeting it was. After it we returned by way of Nottingham, and had a meeting there, and one at New Garden, and so on to Philadelphia. I was from home about a week, and travelled in this journey about

one hundred and fifty miles, and was well satisfied therein.

From Philadelphia I went to the General Meeting at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, where I heard of J. G.'s being wounded by a young man with a sword, of which he died, lamenting that he did not take the counsel of his friends,—as young men who slight the counsel of those that wish them well commonly do, either sooner or later, if the day of their visitation be not over. Some few days after this meeting at Shrewsbury, I visited Friends on Long Island, and returned home again, having travelled about three hundred miles. During my stay at and about home, I wrote something concerning Perfection, in answer to a nameless author; also something concerning Predestination, or Election and Reprobation.

In the year 1722, I went back in the woods to Buckingham, the Great Swamp, Perkioming, Manatawny, and Oley, where I had meetings, travelling over mountains, from which we could see many miles. After staying some time at home and visiting neighboring meetings, I went to the Yearly Meeting of Friends on Long Island, which was very large, many people not of our persuasion being there, who were very sober. Many things were opened in the love of Christ, and his great love was largely declared to the congregation. The parable concerning the prodigal son came before me to speak of in a very moving manner, and strongly to invite the youth to lay hold of the love of the Father in his Son to poor souls:



and indeed it is a wonderful parable, setting forth the infinite love of the great Lord of all to his poor creatures. Many were affected and reached at this meeting, and the Almighty was praised and glorified, who alone is worthy.

I had a meeting at New York, and then set forward to Woodbridge, where we had a comfortable meeting. Naaman, the Assyrian, was the subject of that day's work ; and that anything, loved and esteemed more than Christ, whatever it be, is to be avoided, and the people were warned to be careful to keep close to the God of spiritual Israel, and to give up all which is contrary to his nature, and to take up Christ's cross and follow him ; for it is those who follow him in the regeneration, that are to be heirs of his kingdom.

In this year I was at the burial of our friend Jonathan Dickinson, at which we had a very large meeting ; he being a man generally well beloved by his friends and neighbors. In the meeting held on the occasion, a passage which he had often told me in his health, was brought to my remembrance, and I think it worthy to be recorded, which is as follows : " It happened at Port Royal, in Jamaica, that two young men were at dinner with Jonathan and several other people of account in the world, and they were speaking about earthquakes, there having been one in that place formerly, which was very dreadful, and destroyed many houses and families. These two young men argued that earthquakes and all other things came by nature, and denied a supernatural power, or deity,

insomuch that some persons, surprised at such wicked discourse, and ashamed of their company, left it. At the same time the earth shook and trembled exceedingly, as though astonished at such treason against its Sovereign and Creator, whose footstool it is. When the earth thus moved, the company which remained were so astonished, that some ran one way and some another; but these two atheistical young men stayed in the room, and Jonathan with them, he believing that the providence of Almighty God could preserve him there, if he pleased, and if not, that it was in vain to fly. But the hand of God smote these two young men, so that they fell down; and as Jonathan told me, he laid one on a bed and the other on a couch, and they never spoke more, but died soon after. This was the amazing end of these young men." A dreadful example to all atheists and dissolute and wicked livers. Oh! that young people might be warned, that the hand of God might be upon them for good, and that they would be tenderly concerned for their salvation.

On the 30th of the Fourth month, 1723, my tenth child, named Thomas, died about midnight, having before buried nine. It was some exercise to me thus to bury my children one after another; but this reflection a little mitigated my sorrow, viz., I knew that if I could have all things relating to them according to my desire, could I see them grow up to be sober men and women, well married, have a competency in the world, etc., yet it was safer and better for them, and they more out of danger, to be taken away in their

infancy and innocency. I fervently begged the Almighty, that he would be pleased to take them away while innocent, rather than that they should live to be vicious or unrighteous men and women, and to bring scandal on the holy name of Christ, and upon our Christian profession ; which considerations tended to settle and quiet my mind in my sorrowful exercise. The great Lord of all sanctify the sorrows and afflictions of his people and children, and grant them the fulfilling of that blessed portion of holy Scripture, that all things shall work together for the good of them that love and fear him : even so be it, saith my soul.

In the Sixth month of this year I removed from the city into the country, to a small plantation I had at Frankford, in order to be more retired, and for health's sake, etc., finding some decline in my bodily strength, which I take to be very much owing to the severe colds and hardships I have sustained in my long and hard travels, especially in the wilderness of America. Without vanity I may say, that I always loved temperance, and have been sometimes zealously concerned to preach against intemperance ; and though I cannot now take as long journeys as formerly, my spirit earnestly travels for the welfare of Zion, and the peace and prosperity of all those who love, fear, and serve God, and believe in his Son.

On the 6th day of the Eighth month, it pleased God to give me another son, whom I named George, after my father, brother, nephew, and king ; and though this name is now a great name among men, I consid-

ered that no name can preserve life, so I gave him up to the will of Him who gave him to me, and desire, if I have no name through children to posterity, I may have a name in the Lamb's book of life, which I have ever esteemed far above a name amongst men.

After my removal to this place I was not idle, but visited neighboring meetings, and in the Eighth month I went to Shrewsbury General Meeting, where there were many hundreds of people, and the truth declared had good impression upon the minds of many; some after meeting, who were not of our Society, acknowledged to it, and that they were glad they were there. In this meeting I was concerned for the welfare of mankind, and the exaltation of the holy name of the Almighty, to declare the universal love of God to man, from several texts of holy Scripture, as that passage of Jacob and Esau, and Peter and Cornelius, and something concerning the objection made against us, the people called Quakers, that we do not acknowledge the holy Scriptures to be the word of God; for though we believe that the Scriptures came by divine inspiration, yet we are clearly convinced by their testimony, and by the spirit of Truth in our hearts, that Christ is the eternal Word of God, by whom all things were made and created, and do still exist.

From Shrewsbury, with divers other Friends, I rode to Crosswicks, where, on the Fifth day, we had a very comfortable meeting, in which the ancient love and goodness of our heavenly Father was with us, tendering our hearts into tears of joy, some of us

being likewise affected in remembrance of the goodness of the Almighty to us, in the meeting we had in that place under the trees, about twenty-five years since. The great subject of faith and works was spoken to; as, that the Roman Catholics seemed to lay too much stress on works, and the Lutherans, Calvinists, and others, too little: but our principles led us to join both together; the Almighty having joined them together, none ought to separate them. This subject of faith and works having been much in debate amongst professed Christians, it is on my mind here to mention a few things deduced from the best authority:

The first is, "Without faith, it is impossible to please God."

Second, "Faith is the gift of God."

Third, "Faith works by love."

Fourth, "Faith is the evidence of things not seen, and the substance of things hoped for."

Fifth, "Faith without works is dead."

Sixth, "The just live by faith."

Seventh, "Ye believe" or have faith "in God, believe also in me."

The author to the Hebrews speaks excellently concerning the power of faith, and the mighty wonders wrought by it. This living, saving, true and divine faith must be in the heart, through and in Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, who is, and always will be, the author and finisher of it in every true believer.

After I came from Shrewsbury, I visited neighboring meetings, and in Chester county, where I had meetings for nine days successively, some of which were very large, particularly at Providence and Goshen; in which I was opened to exhort them to keep to that plain, honest way of life and conversation which our fathers and elders were found in, and to remind them of the sufferings they endured for their testimony to the blessed truth, in the first breaking forth thereof in the last age. I was also concerned to show them, that the Almighty, who had blessed us with plenty of temporal blessings, would continue the same to us, if we were careful to live in his fear; but that otherwise we might expect his judgments for disobedience.

And after my return, I continued about home for some time, it being the winter season and bad travelling, and I not so capable of travelling as formerly; but I had great peace and tranquillity of mind in that I had freely given up my youthful days to serve my Creator, and the same love and zeal was yet fresh and warm in my heart, for the glory of his great name; and I still have a full resolution through his strength and grace to serve him, the great Lord of all, during the remainder of my days, according to the light and strength given to me.

Our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia this year was large, in which our friend Benjamin Kid, from England, being with us, had good service. I cannot forget a concern which was upon me at this meeting, that

the universal love of God, through Christ, might prevail amongst mankind, and to press Friends to manifest to all people the influence thereof, by their exemplary lives and conversation.

In the Second month, 1724, I went into New Jersey, as far as Shrewsbury, where, on a First day, we had a large meeting to general satisfaction ; and the next day we had another, wherein the love and good will of God, through Christ, was opened freely to the people, and our duty to forgive one another was largely treated of; and it was plainly shown, that without forgiving others, we could not be forgiven of God, as Christ saith, "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses." Much more was said to the same effect on that subject; as also Christ's answer to Peter, who asked, how often a man should forgive his brother if he trespassed against him? Peter says, till seven times: our Lord Jesus answers, "I say not unto thee, until seven times, but until seventy times seven." And again, Christ says, "If thy brother trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again unto thee, saying, I repent, thou shalt forgive him." Which hard-hearted people think a great hardship, but Christ's cross must be taken up and borne daily, if we will be his disciples and followers in deed and in truth, as well as in profession.

After we had reconciled some differences at Shrews-

bury, we went to a place called Manesquan, and had a good, open meeting, and most of the people of that place were there. It was a good time, and I hope the opportunity will not soon be forgotten by divers. From this place we travelled to Crosswicks, and had a good meeting, after which a Friend told me some would say, "I spoke by information, because I had opened some matters which were exactly to the state of some there." But I knew nothing of their condition, otherwise than as it was then immediately opened in my mind; neither had I been told anything concerning them, directly or indirectly. From thence we travelled to Burlington, where the Monthly Meeting of Friends had desired that I would assist in ending a difference which had happened through mistake, and continued for about seven years. Through divine assistance, our hearts being filled with the love of Christ, we so prevailed upon the differing persons, that they gave each other satisfaction, with hopes that they should live in love for the future; and Friends of the place greatly rejoiced at the end of that difference. As I went along this town, some Friends told me of a religious people a few miles distant, with whom they desired I would have a meeting. I requested them to see if it would be granted, and let me know; which was done; and we had a meeting, and were kindly received, and the divine nature of the gospel of Christ was freely opened to them, and in great love we parted from one another. I travelled in this journey about two



hundred miles ; and when I came home, my dear wife and family gladly received me with hearts full of love. And this testimony I think proper, for several solid reasons, to leave behind me, of my virtuous and loving wife, that since we were married, she never hindered me in the service my great Master called me to, in all the time of our living together ; we always parted for the sake of the gospel of Christ, in pure love, and in the same love met again.

Soon after this time I met with several great losses by sea and land, and myself and my daughter were dangerously sick, so that our recovery seemed doubtful ; yet, through the mercy of God, we both recovered, for which I praise his name.

After some stay at home, I was moved in the love of Christ to visit the General Meetings of Duck Creek and Salem. At Duck creek we had a large and satisfactory meeting, and I appointed one at George's creek, which was a good meeting. The next morning we went over to Elsinburgh, and so on to Cohansie, where I met with two of my fellow-laborers in the work of Christ, Thomas Lightfoot and Benjamin Kid. We had a meeting together at Cohansie, in which the people were exhorted to sobriety and just dealing. The contrary of both is too obvious at such times as fairs ; there being divers people there from the fair, as well as others : the nature of Christ's work in the heart was somewhat spoken to, but it was not so open a meeting as some others, the people thereaway being too slack and dull as to religion.

Next day we had a meeting at Alloway's creek, where we all three had some pretty close work; and from thence we went to the General Meeting at Salem, which was larger than common, on account of the said Friend Benjamin Kid being there: who, in the love of Christ, came from England to visit the churches in this part of the world. There were so many Friends and others here at this time, that some houses were so filled, there was not room for all who came to lodge. After this meeting I returned home, and in a few days went into Chester county, and travelled about a hundred miles; and when I came home, I understood that some for want of a true sense of the work of Christ, had been censuring me for my much travelling and hard labor in the work of the ministry of the gospel of Christ; though by the same rule of judging, the apostles of Christ and our ancient Friends, who travelled much, cannot escape their censure; for in all my travels I have had an especial regard to the unity of the brethren, and never knowingly went abroad without it. Let this caution be recorded for the instruction of all such forward judges; let them be careful of judging Christ's servants, lest their words become their burden: "Judge not that ye be not judged," saith our great Lord, "for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged."

Soon after my return from Chester county, I was at a marriage at Abington, which was one of the most solemn I have been at; and on the 15th of the Third month, attended the youths' meeting at Germantown,

to my great satisfaction. On the 23d of the same month I went to the General Meeting of ministers and elders at Burlington; at which meeting several things relating to the gospel ministry were declared; as its being a free, a clear, and a powerful ministry, reaching to the conscience, and convincing of the danger of continuing in sin: and divine charity was much recommended, without which all ministry is but as sounding brass, etc. From this meeting I went with Walter Herbert into Bucks county, and at Neshaminy we had an open, tender meeting. From thence I went to Buckingham, and was at a marriage of a son and daughter-in-law of Thomas Canby. The meeting was large, and Friends well satisfied; and it was observable, though I was very hoarse, through a cold I had taken, and could hardly speak in common conversation, yet it was much taken away in my ministry, so that I was carried through the service to our admiration, for which I was truly thankful. After this meeting I returned home with true satisfaction, such as is much more valuable than silver and gold, two mighty idols in the world.

After a little stay at home I went on a First day to North Wales, or Gwynnedd, where was a pretty large meeting and many young people, to whom I was concerned to show that Christ is the way by which we must come into the true church, through regeneration, and that all who invent other ways are thieves and robbers. I rode twenty-five miles that day, and the next day came to Frankford, and was

at the burial of an ancient Friend, Joan Orpwood, at which was our friend John Salkeld, with whom I was the next day at Philadelphia, at our Third-day meeting, which was a good one.

On the 4th day of the Fourth month, intending soon to take a journey to Long Island, and considering the uncertainty of life, I thought it a proper time to alter my will, as I had kept one by me for divers years before. On the 5th of the Fourth month, I went to Merion to visit an ancient Friend, John Roberts, who was sick near unto death, where I again met with John Salkeld. The Friend expressed his satisfaction in this visit, and we had a reward of peace in the exercise of that Christian duty of visiting the sick, which is recommended by the apostle to the primitive Churches of Christ. After we had been some time with our said sick friend, we went to a meeting appointed for us several days before, which was large and satisfactory, for which favorable visitation we blessed the great name of the Almighty, and parted tenderly in Christian love and good will. The Friend we went to visit, died the next day. He was a helper of the poor, and a maker of peace in the neighborhood; of such Christ said, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

On the 10th of the Fourth month, 1724, I had a concern to write the following epistle to Friends in the island of Barbadoes.

“FRANKFORD, 10th of *Fourth month*, 1724.

“DEAR FRIENDS,— In the tender love of God, our heavenly Father, and of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, do I, your brother, at this time greet you, and wish you health and salvation. Understanding by a concerned Friend, that of late several of our Friends have been taken away from you by death, a concern came on me to put you in remembrance of your latter end, and of the cause of Christ; and also of the prosperity of his blessed light and truth in your (in that respect poor, though in some others, rich and luxurious) island. The posterity of many who have been taken away there, as well as in divers other places, having gone astray; let a weighty concern come upon you, that it may not be so with those who are left behind. Oh! dear Friends! let your practices and expressions manifest to the rising generation, that the welfare of their souls, more than of their bodies, is at heart with you; and do not indulge them in that which you were convinced to be of an evil tendency, when your hearts were first reached by the power of Truth. How many youths have been lost through the looseness of the example of their elders, and through an undue indulgence of them in vanity, folly, pride, and idleness! woful experience doth but too much declare that they are many. Oh! they are many indeed, who have been lost by so doing! wherefore, dear Friends, clear yourselves of your children; and if they will obstinately go astray, faithfully bear your testimony against them, in life, doc-

trine, expressions, and conversation, which will witness for you when you are dead and gone, and your heads laid in the silent grave. Thus will your youth, through the blessing of God and your endeavors, come up in your places, or at least you will be clear, and their blood will be upon their own heads. A pure, strict watch is required of you in conversation, in all those relations. First, that God may be glorified. Secondly, that your children may be exampled. Thirdly, that your neighbors may be edified, or built up in pure religion. And fourthly, that you may die in peace with Him that created you and died for you; remembering the blessed doctrine of Christ Jesus, 'Let your light so shine before men, that others seeing your good works, may glorify your Father which is in heaven.' And again; 'Ye are as a city set on a hill, which cannot be hid.' As you thus train up your children in the way which they should go, when they are young, you may have reason to hope they will not depart from it when they are old; for many have been convinced of the truth, as it is in Jesus Christ, through the good conversation of his followers. And how can we expect to die well, if we do not live well? Or can we expect the answer of 'well done,' if we are not in the practice of doing well?

"I do desire and earnestly exhort Friends to read the holy Scriptures, and wait to feel the Power from which they sprung, through the holy writers; and also to teach them to their children. And, dear Friends, let me prevail with you in the love of God,

and his dear Son, to keep close to your meetings for the worship of Almighty God, and for the well ordering of your Society; and do it in the meek spirit, for that is of great price with the Lord; and when in your meetings, get into a religious exercise and lively concern for God's glory, and your soul's peace and prosperity. I pray the holy Lord of sabbath, to open your hearts to him in the reading of this epistle, as mine is open to you, my beloved friends, that you and I may be edified, though outwardly separated, as we were when together; and if we should never meet more in this world, that we may meet in the kingdom of God, where we may never part more. Amen. Hallelujah, saith my soul!

"I desire this may be copied and read at the close of one of each of your particular meetings, and if it could be readily, in every family of Friends; to all of whom is my very dear love in Jesus Christ' whose servant I am, and hope to be to the end, and I am an entire lover of souls, and a well-wisher of Sion's prosperity.

THOMAS CHALKLEY."

On the 11th of the Fourth month, I left home on a journey to Long Island, in order to visit Friends' meetings, and also to negotiate some business I had there. The first meeting I had was at Burlington, where I had occasion to advise them to keep in remembrance that ancient love which first united our Society together, and in which, in times of cruel persecution, some freely offered to suffer the imprisonment of their

bodies, to obtain the liberty of their friends in confinement. From thence we travelled to Amboy, and over to Staten Island. The day being very hot, and the evening cold, I got a severe cold, which I did not get clear of for about two weeks, notwithstanding which I went to meetings, though ill in body. The first meeting I had on Long Island, was at Flushing, on a First day, and a comfortable meeting it was ; in which was closely pressed the taking up the cross of Christ by all who desire to be his disciples, and that without it we could not be true Christians. From Flushing we went to Mosquetto cove, and had a meeting there on Third day, which was large, and to general satisfaction, and some were there who were newly convinced. I seeing the openness of the meeting, advised Friends to build a meeting-house there, of which they approved. On Fourth day we had a meeting at Westbury, and Fifth day, at Cow-neck. From Cow-neck I went to the south side of the island, and had a meeting at Captain Hicks'. The neighbors who were not of our Society came generally to this meeting, and were pressingly exhorted to come to Christ and the way opened unto them. It was a good time, and I thought a day of love to us all. Before the meeting I was exceedingly shut up in myself, so that it was very beneficial to me, among the rest, to see how the Lord could work by his power, and unlock his treasury, as in a moment, as he did for my poor soul at times. Oh ! may I, with Christ's followers and ministers, ever depend upon him, is my



petition! From Rockaway, for so is the place called, we went to Westbury, and had a very large meeting on a First day; and, as I was informed, some were convinced. From hence I went to a place called Foster's Meadows, where we had a large meeting in a barn. After this I went over to the main land, and had a meeting at a place called Westchester. From thence we went to Flushing, and had a large meeting on a Fifth day of the week, in which the right training up of children, and careful education of youth, were zealously recommended. From Flushing I went to Huntington, where some were lately convinced of the principle of truth as it is in Christ Jesus, some of whom were excommunicated by the Presbyterians, with whom they had formerly joined. We had a pretty large meeting in a Friend's barn, where a priest opposed me, as he also had my friend Benjamin Kid, some time before, of which I gave an account by letter, to my dear friends Thomas Lightfoot and Benjamin Kid, desiring them, in their return from New England, to have an evening meeting there. The ground of this priest's cavilling, or dispute, was my declaring, that it is the light of Christ, or his spirit, which convinceth the world of sin, and not a natural light, or the light of a natural conscience; from whence he took occasion to charge me with denying a natural conscience, the falsehood of which I charged upon him before the auditory, and desired him, if he had anything on his mind, to write to me, to which I promised to return him an answer.

From Huntington I went to the General Meeting of Friends held at Newtown, which was so large that the meeting-house could not contain the people, and the weather being extremely hot, some of the people without doors were uneasy, and went to and fro; but those that were in the house, and so near that they could hear, were very attentive, and as far as I could learn, generally satisfied. Our next meeting was at New York, which was the quietest meeting I ever had there; and the few Friends at New York, and some that were there from Long Island, parted with us in the love of Christ, and in the fellowship of his blessed gospel. I travelled homewards, having good satisfaction in visiting my friends; and when I came there, found my dear wife and children in health, for which I bless God.

After this journey I kept to meetings at and about home as usual, and was at the Fifth day meeting in Philadelphia, when Samuel Preston was married to Margaret Langdale, the widow of my dear friend and fellow-traveller, Josiah Langdale. The meeting was large, and the parable of the virgins and the bridegroom coming at midnight, was opened, with an exhortation to the people to be ready against that hour, and that they should take care to have the holy oil of divine grace in their hearts.

After this meeting I had some affairs which called me into Chester county, and on the road my horse gave a sudden and violent start out of the path, and threw me down, and before I could get up again, he

struck my face, and trod on my right eye with his foot, being newly shod, which stunned me for the present. As soon as I opened the eye which was unhurt, I perceived that I lay on my back, under my horse's belly, with my head between his forefeet. He stood still, and I got on my hands and knees, the blood streaming out of my nose and right eye, and while I was bleeding, a man and woman came by, and stayed till I was done bleeding, and saw me mounted on my horse again. I went forward about two miles, to the house I intended to go to, and after riding about a mile, I met with a Friend who knew me, and was surprised to see me so bloody, and went with me to Randal Malin's, a faithful, honest Friend, who was upwards of eighty years of age, and had suffered much for his profession of the truth in his younger years, where they dressed my wounded eye. I was truly thankful to the Lord for his providence towards me in this deliverance, among many others, which he in his goodness hath vouchsafed to me. I stayed at the Friend's house three nights and mended apace, and he accompanied me to my house at Frankford, where my loving wife, with some surprise, received me very affectionately; and through her care, I recovered so that I could see pretty well with spectacles, which I was obliged to use for some months. Such accidents plainly show us the necessity of preparing for sudden death, as we know not when, or how, we may go off the stage of this life.

On the 25th of the Fifth month, I received a letter

from a person in the county of Burlington, relating to water baptism, to which I made answer as follows :

“Thy lines I received last night, in perusing of which, there was a Christian love in my heart towards thee, though unknown by face, and I have much freedom of mind to answer thine, according to thy request, and my small ability.

“First, then, we are near in sentiment to each other, in the grand Christian principle of saving religion, which is the work of the Holy Spirit of Christ upon the soul, for that is the baptism which is Christ's and is truly saving, and absolutely necessary to salvation. Christ's baptism is but one, which is with the Holy Ghost, and with spiritual fire or water ; John's being the element, or figure ; and Christ's being the spirit, power, and divine substance, is to be with the church of Christ, and with his true ministers, to the end of the world.

“Secondly, in answer to thy query, Was not water baptism, that is, the element, commanded by Christ himself, in Matt. xxviii. 19 ? I answer, I believe not. My reason is this, because the Holy Ghost, or Spirit, is mentioned in the text, in express words, and water is not ; and therefore we omit going into outward water, and for other reasons as follow :

“Thirdly, that water baptism, which was John's, was practised by the apostles, is true ; but it was not practised by Christ, who, no doubt, would have done it, if it had been absolutely necessary ; for he disdained

not to wash his disciples' feet, a much more despicable office than that of the baptismal ceremony : so because Christ did not himself practise it, nor, as we conceive, commanded us to go into material water, we therefore forbear it.

"Fourthly, that the apostles did baptize with water, we deny not; and that they were circumcised, and did circumcise, is also undeniable. Now, must we circumcise because the apostles did, and were themselves circumcised? Consider this carefully, and I hope that will give thee some sight or light, concerning the dispensation of water baptism, which was John's baptism, and was glorious in its day and dispensation, in pointing at Christ's baptism, until it came, which was the substance, and was with spiritual fire and spiritual water, and will continue forever. To Christ and his baptism, I heartily direct thee for further instruction, in whom is life, and that life is the light of men.

"I would write a little further concerning water baptism, on some texts of Scripture, being Christ's own words, viz. : 'He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that believeth not, shall be damned, or condemned.' This must needs be understood of the Spirit's baptism; for it would be absurd to say, or believe, that all who are baptized with water, are saved, or that all who are not baptized with water, are damned; therefore it is the Spirit's baptism that all professing Christianity ought to come unto, in order to witness salvation. Again, Christ says, 'Except a man be born of water, and of the

Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Some will have this to be a mixture of the element water and of the Spirit; but Christ says, 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.' 'That which is born of the flesh, is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit, is spirit.' According to which doctrine, I have faith to believe, that outward, fleshly, or elementary water baptism profits little or nothing to the soul. Again, why should water in that place be understood of the element, any more than fire in the other, viz.: To be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, since Christ said, 'My words they are spirit and life.' Remember the well of water that springs up to eternal life in the believers, and the water that Christ gave, whosoever drank of which, was never to thirst more. This is all spiritual, which the carnal mind cannot comprehend or enjoy, but is witnessed by the spiritual man. And further, if we consider what confusion there is in the world about water baptism, it may well put a tender seeking soul upon further search into the nature of holy, saving baptism. The Papists have one way; the Lutherans and Calvinists another; and the Baptists have another; and all differ so widely, that, generally speaking, they will not worship together; neither are they ever likely to be reconciled, except they come to the holy Spirit and divine power of Jesus, the good Saviour and precious guide of souls. That saying of his has often been a

comfort to me in deep exercises and distresses of mind, when he said to his disciples, 'It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.' I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever, even the Spirit of Truth. And when he is come, he shall guide you into all truth; he shall take of mine, and show it unto you, and shall bring all things to your remembrance, that I have spoken unto you. He was to convince the world of sin, and to abide with Christ's disciples forever. May the precious gift of the Spirit be given to thee, and to all true seekers of God, his Christ and kingdom, is my real desire and humble prayer to the Most High. [See the four Evangelists for this promise, they not wording it alike.]

"Having answered most parts of thy letter, I would add a few lines more, viz.: I have known some who could not be satisfied with words about this point of baptism with water, until Christ had by his spirit given them satisfaction in themselves; and as thou comest more and more into close communion with his grace and spirit in thy own soul, I hope thou also wilt have better satisfaction than that of words only. I have known some of the people called Baptists, who have been convinced of the truth, according to our way and principle, to whom all the writing and disputing, and reading, and preaching about this point, could never give full satisfaction, until they had it

inwardly and immediately from Christ, manifested to them by his holy spirit in their hearts, as aforesaid. I would not, however, be understood to be against satisfying one another as much as lieth in our power, and as we find openness in the love of God and Christ. And further, I never understood that our Society were absolutely against those persons practising it, who could see no further, or did really think in their conscience that it was their duty so to do; but we believe, that we see beyond the figure or shadow, and are come to the substance, for the reasons mentioned, and many more which might be given. Several treatises have been published upon this subject, one of which is very full, written before we were a people, by William Dell, a wise and learned man, and one who had a large sense of the power of God: and among us, Barclay's Apology, and a treatise by John Gratton, who had been a Baptist preacher, and one by Joseph Pike. There is also a little book of Thomas Upsher's, who was a Baptist preacher before he came to join with us, which I send thee, with whom I was well acquainted, as also with those men who subscribed it. If thou applies thyself to Richard Smith, of Burlington, he is as likely as any person I know, to help thee to those books, all which are larger on the subject, and have given satisfaction to thousands about it; though some, as I have said, could never be satisfied with words. In reading the latter part of thy letter I was tenderly affected, and my prayers to the Almighty were, that he would please to direct thee by



his power and spirit, and the grace of his dear Son, who hath said, 'He that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast off.' Now, tender friend, Christ is the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, by which light thou must walk to the kingdom and city of God. He is the door into the true sheep-fold: he is the truth, in whom thou must believe: he is the divine life and light of the soul: he is the true Christian's all in all. And as the kingdom is within, as said Christ, so the king is within, and without also. He is God, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, the immortal Jehovah, and is God over all, blessed forever. And, as a servant of his, I recommend thee, with my own soul, unto him for preservation and direction; for it is the great work of Christ's true ministers and servants, to direct the seeking, travelling souls to him; to whom with the Father, and the eternal Spirit, be glory, now and evermore. Amen.

"From thy assured friend in Christ,

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

The person to whom I wrote this letter, some time after informed me, that it gave him great satisfaction.

After I had stayed at home some time, and pretty well recovered of the hurt I received by my fall, I visited some meetings about home, as Philadelphia, Abington, and Germantown. In several of those meetings I was concerned to exhort Friends, as our meetings and worship in this province of Pennsylvania were a kind of national worship, to beware

that they did not indulge themselves in the sins of the nations, but to be careful to keep to the holy, self-denying life of Jesus.

On the 5th of the Sixth month, between the hours of nine and ten at night, there was an earthquake, of which many people were sensible; and about this time many were taken off with a violent fever. I was concerned in several meetings to put the people in mind of their mortality, and the shortness and uncertainty of time; and of the necessity of speedy preparation for their final change and future well-being. In the aforesaid month I was at our Youths' Meeting in Philadelphia, where I was concerned to advise parents to do justly to their children, in the divers relations of a child's state; to be just in correction, and to be sure to give them learning, and train them up in reading the holy Scriptures, they being able, through faith in Christ, to make us wise unto salvation. I also was earnest in exhortation to the youth, to obey and honor their parents, and to have a care not to be disobedient to their fathers and mothers. I had a concern also to remind that large congregation, that the Almighty had stretched out his arm, with his rod, and had given the people of this land three strokes therewith, as a gentle admonition towards heart preparation to meet him, and to be ready for their latter end: which were, First, a sickness, or pestilential fever, which carried off many of the people. Secondly, an earthquake, of which divers in town and country were sensible. Thirdly,

a terrible whirlwind, such as we never before heard of in this land, that I remember. They were admonished to take particular and special notice of these gentle strokes of the divine hand; for if he pleased, he could as soon take away many by sickness, as a few, and could make us a desolation, as well as the country about Mount *Ætna*, or Port Royal, in Jamaica, not very far from us; and he could also blow us away with the whirlwind of his wrath, and could as easily have blown down all our city as those few houses in the country.

Next day after this meeting I went with John Rodman to the Quarterly General Meeting of worship in the county of Chester, which was large and satisfactory.

The 25th of the Sixth month I was at the burial of the wife of Richard Waln, a virtuous and good woman. Some of her last words were, "Some men's sins go beforehand to judgment, and some follow after them; and that her sins were gone before, which was a great comfort to her, now she was going to leave the world." It was a large meeting, and a seasonable opportunity at the funeral. The people were called upon to work while it is called to-day, because, as our Saviour said, the night cometh, wherein no man can work.

In this and the foregoing year I met with various trials and exercises, as, First, great inward poverty and want. Secondly, great losses in outward affairs. And, thirdly, the evil spirits of some were stirred

up against me, to report falsehoods concerning me, with many other sore exercises, both inward and outward. As to the first, I had often been tried that way, and found by experience, that I must wait upon God my Saviour for fresh and renewed visitations from above; in which exercise I had always, in the Lord's time, received comfort from him, and by the same exercise I had now the same comfort also; but I thought it very long, and the enemy did now greatly endeavor to break in upon my patience more than usual: but my heart still depended in faith and hope upon the Lord, my Redeemer and Saviour, and in his time he was pleased to help me, blessed be his holy arm and power forever! Many blessed saints and servants of Jesus were brought to my mind, who were in the like condition, so that I had a secret joy in their company, who met with the like in their travels to the holy city.

Secondly, as to my outward losses, I thought with myself, peradventure it might be best for me: and I remembered that many, through the increase of outward riches, were exceedingly hurt as to their inward state; and though I, or any good man, might be concerned for our children, to get and leave something for them, yet I plainly saw, that, generally speaking, much riches does much hurt to youth. This was a melancholy observation that I had made in my life and travels, and I see at this day, that it is an universal distemper, a very few excepted; wherefore I cried mightily to God that he would give to me and mine

the gift of his grace and holy Spirit, whatever our circumstances might be in the world. In this also I saw that patience was an excellent virtue, and that the meek had the best inheritance of the earth, if they had ever so little of it; and that true happiness did not consist in earthly things, which my experience had largely taught me.

And thirdly, as to the base and evil treatment I met with, which was more than I had ever met with in all my life before, great endeavors were used to lessen my reputation, as a man and a Christian; all which proved false and fruitless, and in due time my innocence was made manifest. I considered that they could not use me worse than they had done my Lord and Master, and that the devil was angry with any who endeavored to dethrone him and pull down his kingdom, at the foundation of which, through the help of my master, I had made many a stroke, with such weapons as he was pleased to furnish me withal.

The last of the Sixth month, and the 1st of the Seventh month, was the Quarterly and Youths' Meeting at Burlington, at both of which I was present. At the Quarterly Meeting I was concerned to open how the church of God was governed by his spirit, in the time of the law, and Moses was an instrument therein; and that when it was too hard, and too much work for Moses, he was advised to get the assistance of the elders; and that the same power and spirit of God which was with Moses, was upon the elders who assisted him in the affairs of the church

- and congregation of the Lord's people; so that it was governed by God's spirit, and is to be governed by the same still, and not by the will of man, nor according to the will of man, in his corrupt nature. And when Israel went from God's power and spirit, the Lord left them, but at last sent to them his only-begotten Son; our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and he was, and ever is, to be governor of his church, through his holy Spirit, of which he told his disciples, that he would pray the Father, and he should send unto them the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, or holy Spirit, the spirit of truth, and that he should abide with them forever, and should lead and guide them into all truth; which sweet and precious promises the true believers do witness to be fulfilled at this day. Glory to his name forever, he is the wonderful Counsellor, mighty Saviour, and Prince of peace! of whose peace, and government there shall never be an end, and upon whose shoulder the government is to be forever. Friends were exhorted to pray and wait for His holy power and spirit, and to be sensible of it in the discipline and government of the church now in this gospel day, in which is a brighter manifestation of God's love, through his Son, than in the time of the law. The Youths' Meeting was also large, and divers testimonies were borne, by way of exhortation and counsel to the youth. They were with much tenderness advised to take counsel of their elders, and were shown how it fared with some young men, who slighted the advice and counsel of the elders; and that one,

when on a dying-bed, cried out in the bitterness and agonies of his spirit, "Oh! that I had taken the counsel and advice of my friends, for then I had not been here, nor in this condition." They were advised to beware of keeping bad company, and spending their precious time in taverns, which hath undone many fair and promising youths: and it was shown how a young man might cleanse his ways, by taking heed thereto, according to the Word of God, which liveth and abideth forever, and which the holy Scriptures proceeded from; and they were earnestly exhorted to read and practise what was written therein. A very tender time we had in prayer to God, through his dear Son, to preserve us all in his fear, both youth and aged; and so our meeting broke up, and we parted in the sweet love of God, and his Christ, our holy Saviour.

## CHAPTER VI.

1724-1725.

Correspondence—Losses and Troubles—Letter to Elizabeth Lewis and Jane Fenn—Letter respecting the Ministry—Family Visit—Services near Home—Visit to New Jersey and Chester County—Visit in Burlington Quarter—Separation in Barbadoes—Letter to the Leader—Danger of Riches—Rewards and Punishments—Letter to a Young Man under Conviction—Criterion for Judging of following the Holy Spirit—Serious Accident.

MY troubles in the world, and in the things of it, being many, and my outward losses great; as also was my inward poverty of spirit, I took my pen and wrote one day as follows: "Oh! if it be right in the sight of God, how do I long to be unclothed of this frail, mortal body, that my soul might mount up to the ethereal plains, and repose itself in the arms of its Maker and most sweet Saviour forever."

Being at and near home some time after I came from Burlington, I visited the meetings of Germantown and Philadelphia, which were large, and some sense of truth was in the hearts of divers. I was concerned at that meeting at Philadelphia, to let the people know, that, as God had blessed the people of that city, and the province, with spiritual and temporal blessings, and made the land fruitful, enriching



many of the inhabitants, he now expected from them fruits of piety and virtue; and that if there was not a stricter walking with God in Christ Jesus, they might expect his divine hand, which had visited them with favors from heaven above, and from the earth beneath, would visit them with a rod, with which he had already given them some gentle strokes.

Our Yearly Meeting was this year at Burlington, for the provinces of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, to attend the service of which, our Quarterly Meeting appointed me, with divers others. It was a large and comfortable meeting, and many went home thankful to the holy name of God and Christ, that they were there.

I shall here transcribe part of a letter which my dear father wrote to me, when above eighty years of age; he having been a minister of Christ above forty years; viz.:

“LOVING SON, THOMAS CHALKLEY,—Thine dated the 11th of the Tenth month, 1728, I received, and was very glad to hear of your welfare, and that the Lord hath given you children: and I pray the Almighty God, that he may preserve them with you, that they may be a comfort to you in your latter days; and that if the Lord may be pleased to continue them with you, they may, as they grow in days, grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and that the Lord may be pleased to preserve us all to the end of those few

days we may have in this world, that we may lay down our heads in peace, and in the full assurance of everlasting blessedness, forever and evermore.

"I bless the Lord that he hath preserved me sensible of his blessed and holy Spirit, whereby my understanding is clear and well, considering my age; and the Lord in his great loving-kindness, I do feel to help me to my great satisfaction, in my little service for him.

"With repeated love to you all, I rest thy aged, and thereby, through pain, afflicted father.

"GEORGE CHALKLEY

"SOUTHWARK, LONDON, 5th of *Sixth month*, 1724."

To see my dear father's handwriting, now he was above four-score years of age, was very affecting to me; and the more, because I expected it might be his last, which it was. The answer I sent to my dear father's letter is as followeth:

"FRANKFORD, 22d of *Eighth month*, 1724.

"MY DEAR FATHER, — Thine, per James Wilkins, I received with joy, and was greatly comforted to hear that thou wast yet alive; and especially that thou art favored, now in thy old age, with a sense of the gift of God, through the holy Spirit of his dear Son, our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

"The reading of thine did refresh and tender my heart, not expecting many more such epistles from thee, by reason of thy great age. But, my very dear

and truly honored father, if we should never hear from nor see one another more in mutability, yet are we, while here on earth, as living epistles in one another's hearts, written by the finger of God. I have hope also, that we shall meet where we shall never part more, in the glorious kingdom of God and his Christ.

"With unspeakable love from self and wife, to thee, my dear and aged father, and all relations and friends,

"I remain thy loving and dutiful son,

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

In this year, 1724, I met with various trials, afflictions, and tribulations; and had not the secret hand of the Lord, which I felt underneath, borne up my spirit from sinking, I think I could not have waded through them.

I was now removed, as already related, into the country, for retirement, which I greatly loved and delighted in; but as soon as I was a little settled there, the enemy of all good endeavored to disquiet my repose, by stirring up some bad people against me, who lived near, and in time past had fawned upon me. To add to my afflictions, I lost a vessel, in which, I suppose, I had upwards of five hundred pounds; another vessel came in almost a wreck, in which I suffered in my interest several hundreds more, and a third I heard of, in which I had the like loss; and about the same time I had also a good new

barn burned to the ground in a few minutes, so that I was exceedingly stripped that way. To add yet more to my exercise, I was sorely afflicted with sickness, having a swelling in my jaws, mouth, and throat, that I could neither speak nor swallow for some time, nor eat, nor sleep, for about seven days, as I remember, without great difficulty. What the distemper was, we could not be certain. Some supposed it to be the quinsy, others an imposthume; also my only daughter at the same time was likely to die; and as for my own part, I was very willing to go, if it so pleased God; for I saw through the deceit of the world, and that the friendship of it was not permanent. And in my sore afflictions of body, mind, and interest, it fared with me as with Job, for divers of my pretended friends added to my afflictions by undue reflections; whom I pray the Lord to forgive for his Son's sake! At these times, the remembrance of that saying of Christ, that the very hairs of your head are numbered, supported me in hope that all would work together for good.

When I got better, so that I could go to meetings, I went to Germantown, Abington, Philadelphia, and Darby. My first going abroad was to Philadelphia, where, on a First day, we had a large meeting, and divers things were opened in my mind. I told them they had Moses and the prophets, and Jesus Christ, who has arisen from the dead; for neither death, hell, nor the grave could detain the Lord of life and glory. And I was opened to declare to them, that they had a

great advantage of the coming of Christ, not only in his appearance at Jerusalem, but as he came to, and spoke in the heart, by his inward and spiritual appearance; and that this gospel dispensation was, by his coming, made more conspicuous, bright, and glorious, than that which went before. Friends were very glad to see me abroad again, they having expected daily to hear I was dead, and there was tenderness over the meeting, and God over all, through his dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ, was praised and glorified, who is worthy for ever.

In this year two sober young women, Elizabeth Levis and Jane Fenn, were concerned to visit Friends in the Island of Barbadoes, and they meeting with some discouragement, in Christian love, I wrote them the following letter to encourage them in the work of Christ.

“FRANKFORD, 1st of *Twelfth month*, 1724-25.

“MY DEAR FRIENDS, ELIZABETH LEVIS and JANE FENN,—Understanding by our friend, Grace Lloyd, that you have proposed your intention of visiting the few Friends in the Island of Barbadoes, and that you meet with some discouragement inwardly and outwardly, it is in my mind to comfort and strengthen you in so great and good an undertaking, and honorable work, as is the cause of Christ, who, for our sakes, crossed himself abundantly beyond expression, more than is possible for us to do for his sake, or the sake of his people, whom we may so entirely love as to lay

down our lives for his and their sakes. But what are our lives to the life of the only-begotten Son of God? And truly, we must give them up often, if we have the cause of souls at heart; and then he often gives them to us again, glory to his holy name for ever! As Christ said, 'He that will save his life, shall lose it, and he that will lay down his life for my sake and the gospel, shall find it;' which reacheth your case in this undertaking. And indeed, some of our lives, in our own sense, are hardly worth mentioning, considering the cause of Christ.

"And, dear children of our heavenly Father, I may, through some good experience, truly inform you, that there is much openness in many people on that island, and good encouragement I have had from above, in my visiting the people there; though, true it is, the inhabitants too generally are luxurious, and much given to vanity: yet I have this seal in my heart, that the Lord hath a seed in that place who desire to serve him, and that seed will surely join with you in your exercise, and you will be comforted one in another, and in the Lord. And that there are differences among them, is also true; but they have the more need of being visited by such, who are, through their wise conduct and restoring disposition, likely to heal those breaches which are, or may be among them. Some, indeed, have gone among them, and have done hurt, by a rash and turbulent management, and by so doing have rather made the breaches wider, than

by a meek and loving, as well as lowly disposition, lessened their differences and healed them.

“And, tender friends, though it may seem hard for you in several considerations, to give up to go to sea; and also to divers who love you, and are nearly related to you, know ye and such so concerned, that the Lord is stronger than the noise of many waters, and than the mighty waves of the sea. And I really believe that you, as well as my soul, with all the servants of Christ, will experience it to be so, as David did, whose words they are.

“I remember the words of our great Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, when he sent forth his servants to preach his gospel; ‘I send you forth as lambs among wolves.’ No question but you, like innocent lambs, before your return, if it please God to give you to us again, may meet with the wolf’s spirit, or the spirit of the beast; in some among whom you may travel; then will the counsel of Christ, added to his commission, be good for you to keep close to: ‘Be ye wise as serpents, but innocent or harmless as doves.’

“And, dear maidens, as your cross is great, you being two innocent young women, in giving up your names to cross the sea, which I know is a great trial, the seamen too generally being rude, dissolute people; so your crown will be great also. I have known that by keeping near to Christ, and his truth and power, there hath been a wonderful reformation sometimes in several of those rude seamen; and some have been so far convinced as to be exceedingly kind, and to

speak well of Friends and their conversation, when it has been coupled with the fear and wisdom of God. When I have gone to sea, I always found a religious and Christian concern upon me, for the poor sailors, the good effects of which have been much more than I may speak of; but give this little hint for your encouragement and information.

“ Well, dear souls, if you go, I believe the Lord will go with you; and sure I am, that my spirit will also go along with you, which will not hurt you, if it do you no good. And although my exercises and tribulations of late have been very great, both spiritual and natural, yet my very heart within me affects the cause of Christ, according to the best of my understanding: and I heartily wish well to all my fellow-laborers, who are faithful, painful servants of Christ, and disinterested, except as to the interest which they desire in Christ and his kingdom, for the sake of which, they love not their lives unto death.

“ I must now take leave, after putting you in mind to remember your poor friend and brother, when before the throne you are supplicating the Father of mercies in secret, even as my heart is tenderly bowed and broken into tears on your behalf at this time. The Lord be with you, and sanctify the present exercise and concern that is upon you, and you to himself, with all the faithful lovers and followers of the Lamb, ‘through his word, whose word is truth.’ I am your friend and brother, in the fellowship of the gospel of Christ Jesus, our great Lord and good



Master ; and blessed are all those who, by their fearing to offend him, manifest him to be their Master, and by their honoring him, manifest him to be their Lord.

“THOMAS CHALKLEY.”

In the Twelfth month I went to the Quarterly Meeting of Friends, held at Providence, in Chester county, for discipline and worship. It was large, and a concern came upon Friends to suppress excess in eating and drinking, and great entertainments at marriages and funerals, and spending time idly in tippling houses ; also in several other things for the well ordering our Society, in which there appeared great love and unanimity. The people were reminded of God's love to them, and many favors were recounted to them, which he had showed the inhabitants of the land, which were very singular, and that he expected they should bring forth fruits answerable to the labors of love, which the Lord had bestowed upon them.

About this time I had it in my mind to write to one who was conscientiously concerned to preach the gospel of Christ, but was under great exercise on that occasion.

“FRANKFORD, 24th of *Twelfth month*, 1724-25.

“My FRIEND,—Since I last saw thee and conversed with thee, thou hast often been in my mind, and thy exercise has come before me ; and not having an opportunity to converse with thee personally, I

take this way of communicating my mind, hoping, in Christ, thou wilt reap some satisfaction and advantage thereby. . I think I know thou art concerned for Christ's cause, as also was that eminent minister Apollos, who yet was instructed more perfectly by good Aquila and Priscilla. The subject on which I have it in my mind to write to thee, is the ministry of the gospel of Christ Jesus, which I believe to be very different from that which it is taken for in most parts of the world, by many professing Christianity. First, the greatest part of Christendom, so called, calls and elects its ministers, and will not call them unless they have school learning, although Christ called and chose unlearned men, as to that sort of learning, and the apostles were called, 'Not according to the will of man, but by the revelation of Christ Jesus.' Christ thanked his Father that 'He had revealed the mysteries of his kingdom to babes and sucklings.' The wise Jews, the scribes and pharisees, admired at the apostles, who so powerfully preached Christ, and were so wonderfully carried forth in their ministry, and yet few of them were men of learning: The call, election, and wages of Christ's ministers, are spiritual, and not carnal; and therefore, their ministry is with divine life and power, by which they are qualified for this service, without either study or premeditation; though it is not denied that Christ may show a minister beforehand, what he shall, or is to speak, at such a time or place, as he may see meet. But studying, or writing sermons, and afterwards

preaching, or rather reading them to the people, is not the practice of the true minister of Jesus, our great Lord and Master; of which, I do believe thou hast a real sense.

"I shall impart to thee something of my own experience for thy edification in this great work, viz.: As in the work of conversion or regeneration there is a growth and increase from the state of a child to that of a man in Christ, so in the work of the ministry, or preaching the gospel, there is also a growth from a babe to an able minister, in all which the power and grace of the holy Spirit must be our guide, our help and support. Keeping close to this, we shall increase in divine wisdom and sound judgment, and our hearts and understandings will be more and more opened and enlarged. The apostle Paul said, 'When I was a child, I spake as a child, understood as a child, and thought as a child;' and yet he was a child of God and minister of Christ; and as he grew in his gift, and in Christ's grace, he became an eminently serviceable instrument in the hand of God. Now a child's state in the ministry is too much overlooked by many, some thinking to be men as soon as they are brought forth into the ministry; and according to my observation, divers have been at a loss, and some quite lost, for want of a patient continuing in well-doing; and not waiting to feel a growth and increase from above, have gone on in their own strength and will, perhaps against the advice and instruction of a sound and honest

Aquila or Priscilla, and have been hurt; and some who had received a gift, have had that same gift, taken from them, even by the Lord, who gave ay them.

“A true minister of Christ is to take no thought what to say, but in the same hour that which he should speak to the people, will be given him, that is, in a general way, and if it is not given from above, I believe he or she ought to be silent; for they receive freely, if they do receive anything from Christ, and so they ought freely to administer; and where little is given, little is required, all which is plain from Christ's own words in the New Testament; and Christ's cross is to be taken up by his ministers in their preaching, as well as in their conversation.

“It is a practice with which the holy Scriptures have not acquainted us, that the ministers of Christ should take a verse, or a line, out of the holy Scriptures, and write, or study, beforehand, a discourse on it, and preach it, or rather read it, to the people. The holy men of old, as we read both in the Old and New Testament, spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and by it they were gifted for convincing, converting, and reforming the world, and for comforting and edifying the saints, quite contrary to the latter practice of modern reading divines, who dispute, write, and preach against the immediate revelation of the spirit of Christ, and therefore cannot be his ministers, but must be the ministers of anti-christ, and ministers of the letter, and not of the

spirit of Christ, or of his gospel. And where the apostle says, 'When I was a child, I spake as a child,' I take him to point at being brought newly into the work of the ministry, as well as the work of conversion, and that he useth those expressions by way of comparison, and therefore I compare it thus: a child when it first begins to speak, speaks but a few words, and those stammeringly sometimes, and its judgment is weak, and he must be put upon speaking by his father over and over, if he be a backward child; otherwise, if he be forward, and speaks too much, he is curbed by a wise father. Thus, according to my observation, it hath pleased our heavenly Father to instruct his children in the ministry, and as a child in Christ, I would speak a little of my experience to the children of God. When I first felt a necessity on me to preach the gospel, I had but a few sentences to deliver, in great fear and tenderness, with some trembling, with which my brethren were generally satisfied and edified. After some time I felt a concern to preach the gospel in other countries, and to other nations, than that in which I was born, which to me was a very great cross; but feeling the woe of the Lord to follow me in not giving up to it, after some time I took that cross up for Christ's sake and the gospel's; and in taking it up I experienced the truth of the apostle's doctrine, that 'The gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.' Thus, through a continual labor and spiritual travel, I witnessed a growth in experience and

an enlargement in expression and heavenly doctrine; and my heart was mightily enlarged to run the ways of God's commandments, and divers were convinced, and some, I hope, thoroughly converted, and many comforted, and God, through the ministry of his dear Son, glorified, who only is thereof worthy forever.

"In all this I have nothing to boast of or glory in, saving in the cross of Christ; for what is Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, but an instrument? I would not be understood to compare myself with those apostles, but to endeavor to follow them as they followed Christ. Christ is all in all: he is the great teacher of teachers, and the highest schoolmaster of all: and he says, 'Whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple.'

"We do not find anywhere in the New Testament, that Christ's ministers or messengers were only to speak or preach to one meeting of people, or that they were called or hired by men; for then it would have been necessary that man should pay them; but Christ says, 'Freely ye have received, freely give; and go forth,' etc.

"And, my friend, I find to this day, that it is safe for me when I am ministering to the people, when the Spring of divine life and power, from which sound truths and edifying matter spring and flow into the heart, abates, or stops, to stop with it, and sit down, and not to arise, or speak publicly to the people, without some spiritual impulse or moving, and openings.

"I would have this taken no otherwise; but as one friend and brother opening his state and condition to another for edification, and for strengthening each other in Christ. And as I fear lest I should exceed the bounds of a letter, therefore shall conclude thy real friend in Jesus Christ;

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

The 25th of the Twelfth month I was at the burial of the wife of Randal Speakman. It being our Fifth-day Meeting, divers sober people not of our persuasion, were there, and I was drawn to speak of the death of Christ and his merits, and to show them that there is no merit in the works of man, as he is man, or in a formal righteousness or holiness.

- In our Yearly Meeting at Burlington it was agreed that the families of Friends should be visited, and soon after, our Monthly Meeting appointed me, with other Friends, to visit the families of our meeting; in which visitation many were comforted and edified, both of the youth and aged; and we could truly say, that the power and grace of God, and the sweet love of Christ, accompanied us from house to house, to our mutual comfort. We were so extraordinarily opened and guided to speak to the states of the people in their families, who were unknown to us, that some of them were ready to think we spoke by information, when in truth we were clear of any such thing, and only spoke from what was immediately given to us, without any information from man or woman; which

to us was sometimes very wonderful, and caused us to praise the great name of the Lord.

The General Meeting held at Philadelphia in the First month, was a solid good meeting, and ended in a sense of grace and truth, which comes by Jesus Christ. Next day being our Week-day Meeting, our dear friends Elizabeth Levis and Jane Fenn, took leave of us, they intending for the island of Barbadoes; and it was a parting meeting that will not soon be forgotten by some of us then present.

After this meeting I went to Burlington to visit one who was sick, and under some trouble of mind for going astray, and greatly desired to come into the right way, with whom I had a good seasonable meeting, to her comfort and my own satisfaction. Upon this visit I would remark, that it is a great pity that youth, when in health and strength, should put off the work of their salvation, and forget the Most High, till either sickness or death overtakes them. And then, oh! the bitter piercing cries and groans, and terrible agonies the soul is in; which, by timely repentance and amendment of life, might be avoided.

I was afterwards at meetings at Philadelphia, Merion, Germantown, etc., and had some service and satisfaction therein. On the 2d of the Second month, the Friend whom I visited, as above, was buried, and the relations of the deceased sent for me to the burial. The person being well beloved, there was a large appearance of people of divers persuasions, and we had



an opportunity at this funeral to exhort the people so to live that they might die well; and that the way to die in the favor of God, was to live in his fear: Charity to those who dissent from one another, was pressingly recommended from the apostle's words, that, "If we had faith to remove mountains, and to give all our goods to the poor, and our bodies to be burned, yet if we wanted charity, we were but like sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal." And also our belief of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead was asserted, in contradiction to that gross calumny cast on our Society, of denying it.

The latter end of the Second month, I was at a marriage at Horsham, at which was present William Keith, our Governor, and I was concerned to speak of the end of that great ordinance, and of the happiness of those married persons who fulfil the covenants they make in marriage, and what strength and comfort the man is to the woman, and the woman to the man, when they keep their covenants, and that they are the contrary when they break them. I also opened the methods prescribed by our discipline, to be observed in marriages, and our care to prevent any clandestine marriages amongst us. After this meeting I returned home, without going to the marriage-dinner, as I generally avoided such entertainments as much as I could, having no life in, or liking to them, being sensible that great companies and preparation at weddings were growing inconveniences among us, which I was conscientiously concerned to

discourage. A few days after my return home, at our meeting at Frankford, I was concerned particularly to exhort Friends to keep to plainness in language, dress, etc., according to the examples given us in the holy Scriptures, particularly that of Daniel and his companions; and to caution against vain and indecent fashions, which, with concern, I have observed to prevail too much among some who make profession with us.

In this Second month I went to the Yearly Meeting of Friends at Salem, and by the way had two meetings at Woodbury creek. At Salem we had a large meeting, and our gracious Lord was with us, bowing many hearts before him; and many testimonies were given of the goodness, love, mercy, and grace of God and his dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. From Salem we travelled to Alloway's creek and Cohansie, and from thence to Elsinburgh, and ferried over the river Delaware with our horses to George's creek, and had meetings at all those places. At George's creek, one not a Friend came to me after meeting, and said he thanked me for my advice and counsel, and seemed heartily affected with the doctrine of Christ. From George's creek we travelled to Nottingham, and had a large meeting on a First day, and another, very large, on a Second day, where were many people of divers persuasions. The house could not contain us, so that we met in an orchard. A solid meeting it was, wherein the mighty power of the Creator was declared, as also the divinity of Christ and his man-

hood, and the people were exhorted to be careful of forming any personal ideas of the Almighty; for the holy Scriptures do plainly manifest, that God is a wonderful, infinite, eternal spirit, and therefore is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and outward representations of the Lord Jehovah border on idolatry. Much was delivered on that head; and I was told after meeting that divers Papists were there, though I knew nothing of it. From Nottingham I went to Newcastle, had a meeting there, and then visited a sick Friend, with which he expressed much satisfaction; and then went on to Center, Kennet, and Marlborough, and so to the Monthly Meeting at New Garden, where we had a large open meeting, wherein was shown, that those who meddled with our discipline, in the will, nature, spirit, and wisdom of man only, could do but little service; and that our discipline, as also our worship and ministry, ought to be performed in the wisdom and power of God, through the grace and spirit of Christ. From New Garden we went to Birmingham, had a large meeting, and I was much drawn forth to the youth, of whom many were there. We then went to the Quarterly Meeting for discipline and worship at Concord, in Chester county, which was larger than I had ever seen there before. In the meeting for discipline, Friends were exhorted to keep to the cross of Christ, and to speak to matters in the fear of God, and to avoid and shun, as much as in them lay, self-will, humor, pride, and passion; showing that the rough, crooked, unhewn, unpolished

nature of man, could never work the righteousness of God, and is contrary to the meek, self-denying life of Jesus. John Salkeld and Jacob Howell then signified that they were going to visit Friends on Long Island and Rhode Island. The sense of the call, labor, and work of the ministry of the gospel and of the love of Christ, in the freeness of it, to mankind, took some good hold on divers in that meeting, and the great name of God, and his dear Son, through the Holy Spirit, was glorified.

From this meeting I came home, having been out on this journey nearly three weeks, was at twenty meetings, and travelled more than two hundred miles, and found my wife and children in health, and we rejoiced to see each other; but my rejoicing was in fear, even almost to trembling, lest I should be too much lifted up when things were agreeable to me.

After my return home I went to several neighboring meetings, and on a Fifth day was at Philadelphia, at the marriage of Richard Smith and Elizabeth Powell. The meeting was large, and the marriage solemnly celebrated, and the people were earnestly entreated to love Christ above all, and to manifest that love by keeping his commandments, and that not in show or words only, but in the heart and affections.

About the latter end of the Third month, I went to the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders for the county of Burlington; and from thence to Stonybrook; where, on a First day, we had a large meeting in Joseph Worth's barn, which was crowded with peo-

ple, and was a solid, good time. From Stony-brook I went to Crosswicks, and was at their Youths' Meeting, which was the largest I had seen in that place. I told them they might say as the sons of the prophets did, that "the place was too straight for them," and advised them to enlarge it. I was glad to see such a large appearance of sober people, and so great an increase of youth, in this wilderness of America, and exhorted them to live in the fear of God, that his blessings might still be continued to them; and an exercise was on my mind for the welfare of the young people, to show them the danger of sin and vanity, and of keeping ill company, and following bad counsel; and that the young king, Rehoboam, Solomon's son, lost the greater part of his father's kingdom by following the company and counsel of vain young men; and that many young men in this age had lost and spent the estates their fathers had left them, by the like conduct, and brought themselves to ruin, and their families to poverty and want. Divers lively testimonies were delivered in this meeting, and it ended with adoration and praise of Almighty God; and although the meeting held more than four hours, the people did not seem willing to go away when it was over; for indeed it was a solid, good time. The business of the Quarterly Meeting was carried on in peace and love, that being the mark by which the disciples of Jesus were to be known, and Friends were exhorted with a great deal of tenderness to keep it.

In this journey I travelled about ninety miles, and was at four meetings, being from home four days, and was much satisfied in my journey; but met with some exercise when I came home, hearing of some losses and damage to my estate; so that I found after I had, according to my best endeavors, done the will of God, I had need of patience, that I might receive the promise. I was sensible of the messenger of Satan, the thorn in the flesh, of which the apostle speaks.

About this time a loving friend of mine informed me that one whom I very well knew in Barbadoes, a minister of our Society, had gone into an open separation, so as to keep meetings separate from his brethren, and contrary to their advice. I was concerned in love to write a few lines to him, to remind him of the unhappy state and end of such who, notwithstanding the brotherly love and kind treatment of Friends, had separated from us, and losing the sense of Truth which had made them serviceable in the church, were actuated by a rending, dividing spirit, by which the enemy of our happiness had so far obtained his end as to make some disturbance for a time; but few, if any, of these separatists, have had further power than to promote and maintain their separate meetings during their own lives; such meetings having, in every instance I have known, except one, and that lasted not long, dropped on the death of the founders. And though we think it our duty to testify against, and disown all such, yet this disowning is only until the

persons offending, from a real sense of, and sorrow for, their faults, acknowledge and condemn the same; then the arms of Christ, and of his church, are open to receive and embrace them. I therefore earnestly besought him to consider the danger of offending any who love and believe in Christ, though ever so little in their own or other men's esteem, for we cannot have true peace in departing from the pure love of God, his truth, and people; to which I added the following sentences out of the New Testament:

1. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Do not lose this mark.

2. "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother, abideth in death."

3. "He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love."

4. "He that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him."

About the latter end of the Fourth month I was at a meeting at Abington, occasioned by a burial; and in the beginning of the Fifth month, I was at a marriage in Philadelphia; and was soon after, on a First day, at two meetings at Germantown, where I went to visit a Friend who had not for some months been at meeting, being in a disconsolate condition. I invited her to meeting, where the love and goodness of Christ to the poor in spirit was largely manifested, and the Friend after meeting said she was better, and

afterwards recovered, and kept to meetings. I was frequently at the Week-day Meetings at Philadelphia; for I thought that week not well spent, in which I could not get to Week-day Meetings, if I was in health.

In this month I was at the burial of George Calvert, who was one of a sober life and just conversation, and being well beloved by his neighbors, left a good report behind him. Soon after which I was at Merion meeting, which was large and solid: the people were tenderly exhorted, that neither outward favors, nor spiritual blessings, might make them grow forgetful of God; but that in the sense of the increase and enjoyment thereof, they might be the more humble; and forasmuch as the Christian church in former ages was corrupted by temporal riches and power, it was intimated, that, as we had favor shown us from the government, and increase of outward things, we should be very careful not to abuse those privileges by growing proud and wanton, or envious and quarrelsome; but "to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God."

In this month I was at Middletown, in Bucks county, at the burial of my dear and intimate friend, John Rutledge, who died very suddenly, at which there were above one thousand people: he was well beloved among his neighbors, and was a serviceable man where he lived. I admired to see such a number of people collected upon so short a notice, he dying one day in the afternoon, and being buried the day follow-

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ing; divers testimonies were borne concerning the wonderful works and ways of God. It was a solid, bowing time, wherein many hearts were broken and melted into tenderness. After meeting a young man came to me trembling, and begged that I would pray for him, for he had spent much of his time in vanity, and had strong convictions for it, and had been greatly affected and wrought upon that day. I exhorted him to deny himself, and to take up his cross, and to follow Christ, who hath said, he would in no wise cast off those who came to him in true faith. He went from me very tender and loving, being broken in his spirit.

From thence I went to Gwynned, or North Wales, and on the First day of the week had a very large meeting. In the morning of the day a voice awoke me, which cried aloud, saying, "Rewards and punishments for well and evil doings are sealed as an eternal decree in heaven," which confirmed me that mankind are happy or unhappy in that world which is to come, according to their deeds in this life; if their deeds be good, as Christ said, their sentence will be, "Come, ye blessed;" if their deeds be evil, "Depart from me all ye that work iniquity," and "Go, ye cursed," etc. And, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." And again, "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live." These, with many more texts of the same nature, contained in the holy Scriptures, are contrary to the doctrine of personal

election and reprobation, as some hold it. We had a meeting in the afternoon of the same day, which was satisfactory to many; our hearts being filled with the love of God, for which we thankfully praised him. The next day we had a meeting of ministers, in which they were exhorted to wait for the gift of the Holy Ghost, without which there can be no true minister or ministry. I was concerned to put them in mind to keep close to Christ, their sure guide and bishop; to be cautious of going before, lest they should miss their way, and of staying too far behind, for fear we should lose our guide; and to be careful to keep a conscience void of offence towards God, and also towards man; that we might say to the people truly, follow us as we follow Christ; that our conversation might confirm and not contradict our doctrine, for our Saviour says, "By their fruits ye shall know them; men do not gather grapes of thorns," etc., and he charged his followers not to be like such as say, and do not. The next day we had another very large meeting there, in which many things were opened and declared, tending to establish and build us up in our faith in Christ. After this meeting, parting with my friend John Cadwallader, who accompanied me, I came homeward, lodging that night at Morris Morris's, whose wife was very weakly, with whom we had a tender time.

The 9th of the Fifth month, I was at the General Meeting at Germantown, which was a large and good meeting. Next day I went to visit Jane Breintnall,

who was seized with the palsy, and the Lord was pleased to comfort us together, as she expressed, to our mutual satisfaction.

On the 30th of the said month, was our Quarterly Meeting of ministers at Philadelphia, where humble walking with God was recommended and prayed for, and it was desired that ministers might be exemplary therein, having Christ for their pattern.

On the 1st of the Sixth month, I was at our meeting at Frankford, which was dull to me and divers others, a lively exercise of spirit being much wanting among many, and close walking with God in conversation. If we would really enjoy the love and presence of Christ in our religious meetings, we ought to keep near to him in our daily conversation; and that we might do so, was humbly desired in supplication and prayer to God.

The young man who came to me under great concern of mind, after the funeral of John Rutledge, wrote to me, that he was followed with the judgments of God for his manifold transgressions, desiring that I would pray for him. In answer to his letter, I wrote to the following effect.

“FRANKFORD, 7th of *Sixth month*, 1725.

“THINE from Burlington, of the 26th of Fifth month, I received, by which I perceive the hand of the Almighty hath been upon thee for thy vanity and folly. I desire that thou may be very careful to keep close to that hand, and do not go from under it, but mind

the light of Christ that hath discovered God to be great and good, and his dear Son to be thy Saviour, and sin and Satan to be evil, which evil, if thou follows it, will certainly bring thee to destruction and eternal woe; but if thou follows Christ, and walks according to that light by which he hath manifested sin to be exceedingly sinful; in his time, as thou waits in patience, he will bring thee through his righteous judgments unto victory.

“Wait, oh! wait in patience upon God, if it be all thy days! ‘I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him.’ Again, ‘All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.’

“Thou art young in years, and young in experience in the work of grace, wherefore advise with solid, good men, if thou meets with inward or outward straits and difficulties, for the enemy will not easily let go the hold which he hath had of thee; therefore walk circumspectly, and shun evil company. As to praying in a form of words, without the Spirit helps, in order to open them according to thy state and condition, that will not avail: a sigh or groan, through the help of the Spirit, is much more acceptable to God, than any forms without it.

“That in the Lord’s time thou mayest enjoy the reward of peace, is the desire of thy friend,

“THOMAS CHALKLEY.”

The young man took this counsel well, and kept to

meetings, and behaved soberly for a time, but afterwards ran out, kept bad company, took to drinking to excess, ran himself in debt, and at length into a jail, which hath been the unhappy case of many unstable youths, who, "when they knew God, glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish hearts were darkened."

In this month I was at Byberry and Abington meetings, in which we were favored with the immediate power and presence of Christ, to our great comfort and edification, the visitation of divine love to the youth, having a good effect on some of them, and the latter meeting ended with praise to the Almighty, after supplications for all men, from our king on the throne to the meanest of his subjects.

In my travels I met with a person, who queried of me, how he should know which society had most of the holy Spirit, since most of the professors of Christ do believe in the Holy Ghost, or spirit? to whom I made the following answer.

Let the rule of Christ determine this question: he says, "By their fruits ye shall know them; do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The fruits then of the Spirit of Christ are, love, faith, hope, patience, humility, temperance, godliness, brotherly kindness, and charity, with all manner of virtues. Therefore the society of Christians, which brings forth most of the fruits of the holy Spirit, consequently have most of Christ's grace and spirit. But some

object and say, we will not believe that any society have the Holy Ghost now, or the immediate revelation or inspiration of the Spirit, unless they work miracles. To which it is answered, that right reformation from sin, and true faith in Christ, cannot be wrought without a miracle, neither can we bring forth the fruits of the Spirit without the miraculous power of Christ. Men by nature bring forth the works of nature, and that which is contrary to nature is miraculous. Sin is natural; but divine holiness, or the righteousness of Christ, wrought in man, is spiritual, supernatural, and miraculous. And as to natural men, who are in a state of nature, seeing outward miracles, if they will not, or do not believe what is written in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, neither will they believe, although one were to rise from the dead. Notwithstanding Christ wrought outward miracles, and did the works which none other could do; though he cured all manner of diseases, and fed many thousands with a few loaves, and a few small fishes; and what remained when all had eaten, was more than there was at first; though he raised the dead, and himself arose from the dead, yet few, but very few, believed in him so as truly to follow him. His birth, his life, his doctrine, his death, his resurrection, are all miraculous; and since all this was done in the person of Christ, and at the first publication of his religion to men, there is now no absolute necessity of outward miracles, though his power is the same now as ever; but he said to his

disciples, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do, shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do." Upon which, W. Dell says, "this must be understood in relation to sin; for Christ had no sin in himself to overcome, but we all have sinned," and to overcome sin is the greatest of miracles. This will try the notional or nominal Christian, who says we can never overcome sin in this world. Where then is our faith in the Son of God, who for this purpose was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.

Therefore let not Christians be slow of heart to believe in the glorious gospel of Christ; and if we truly believe therein, and live in the practice of his doctrine, we shall see miracles enough to satisfy us for ever.

The 16th of the Sixth month, I was at the weekly meeting at Frankford, which, though small, was sweet, reviving, and comfortable to some of us; so that we had a sufficient reward for leaving our business, it being the time of our harvest. Week-day meetings are much neglected by many; more is the pity. The apostle's advice is necessary for men in our age, even of professed Christians, viz.: "Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and good works, not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is."

The 23d of the Sixth month, my cart-wheel, being iron-bound, ran over me, and my horse kicked me on my head; the wheel put my shoulder out, and the horse wounded my head so that the skull was bare,

and my leg was sorely bruised. The same day Dr. Owen and Dr. Graham, with the help of two of our neighbors, set my shoulder and dressed my wounds; and the Lord was so merciful to me, that the next day I was enabled to write this memorandum of this wonderful deliverance and speedy cure, for which, added to many others I have received from his gracious hand, I have occasion to be truly thankful. I was obliged to keep at home some time, and I thought it long, because I could not go to meetings as usual; but many Friends came to see me, which was a comfort to me. One day upwards of thirty persons came from several parts of the country to see how I did, and were glad I was likely to recover. The day before I was so hurt, being the first of the week, I was at meeting at Philadelphia, and was concerned to speak of the uncertainty of life, and the many accidents we are incident to in these frail bodies, and exhorted Friends to live so, that they might have a conscience serene and clear of offence towards God and man, and then they might expect the comforts of the Holy Ghost, which in such seasons of difficulty would be a great help and benefit to them. Of this I had sweet experience the next day, under great extremity of pain; and though the pain of my body was such that I could not for several nights take my natural rest, yet I had comfort, through the sweet influence of the Holy Spirit, which Christ promised his followers.



## CHAPTER VII.

1724-1726.

Travels on Eastern Shore — General Visit on Long Island, Connecticut, and New York — Letter to Friends on Long Island — Services at Burlington, Philadelphia, and Neighborhood — Visit to New Jersey — Journey to Oley, etc. — Death of Thomas Chalkley's Father — Account of his Death.

ON the 18th of the Seventh month began our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, which was large, and our friends John Wanton and William Anthony, from Rhode Island, and Abigail Bowles, from Ireland, had good service therein. From this meeting an address was sent to King George, acknowledging his favor to us as a people, in giving his assent to a law made in this province, prescribing the forms of declaration, affirmation, etc., instead of those heretofore used.

The beginning of the Eighth month, being a little recovered from my hurt, I had a desire once more to see my friends on the eastern shore of Maryland, at their General Meeting at Choptank. The first day I set out, I travelled about thirty miles, and at night was very weary, being weak in body, and I was almost ready to faint in my mind about proceeding further. Next day George Robinson, at whose house I lodged,

offering to accompany me, we travelled about forty miles to Sassafras river, and though much tired, we were comforted in each other's company and conversation. On the following day we travelled nearly twenty miles to the General Meeting in Cecil county, in Maryland; where we met with two Friends from Rhode Island, and two from Pennsylvania, who were there on the like occasion. The meeting was large and quiet, many people being there not of our Society, who were very sober. It held several days, and the gospel dispensation was set forth, and the love of God in Christ, exalted. From Cecil we went to Chester river, and had a meeting there, at which the people were exhorted to come to Christ, the eternal rock and true foundation, and to build their religion on him, against whom the gates of hell can never prevail; and they were so much affected, that they did not seem forward to leave the house after the meeting was over. From Chester river we went to Third-haven to the General Meeting of Friends for Maryland, which was very large, some Friends from Pennsylvania and Virginia being there, and many people of other societies. Many testimonies were borne to the work of Christ by his spirit in the soul, and Friends were earnestly desired to be diligent in reading the holy Scriptures, and to keep up the practice of our wholesome discipline; by the neglect of which, a door would be open to loose living and undue liberties. From Third-haven we travelled into the Great Forest, between the bays of Chesapeake and Dela-

ware, and had a satisfactory meeting. There was no public meeting-house in this place, wherefore I told the people of the house, I was obliged to them for the use of it; but they tenderly answered, they were more obliged to me for my kind visiting of them: and truly we had a solid, good meeting there; the people being generally poor, they had but little notice taken of them by the money-loving teachers, who preach for hire. From the Forest I went to Little creek, in the territories of Pennsylvania; where was a General Meeting for the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex. The meeting was large, and Friends parted in great love and tenderness. I went forward to Duck creek, where we had a meeting, divers persons of note being there, and all were quiet and heard with attention. From Duck creek I went to George's creek, and had a meeting; where a man of a sober conversation said he had never heard things so spoken to before; but that he could witness to the truth of all that was said. It was a good meeting before the conclusion; but I was very low and poor in my spirit in the beginning of it. From this place we set forward to Newcastle, where we had a meeting; it was the time of the sitting of the General Assembly, and several members of the house were at meeting. The governor, who had from our first acquaintance been very respectful to me, hearing that I was in town, sent to desire me to tarry all night in Newcastle; but being engaged to a meeting over the rivers Christiana and Brandywine, and it being near night, I could not

stay, but went away that evening and sent my love to him, desiring to be excused. That night I lodged at John Richardson's, and next day went to George Robinson's, at Newark, where we had a meeting on First day, and on Second day another at Providence; and went from thence to Darby, to visit our worthy, aged friend, Thomas Lightfoot, who lay very weak in body, none expecting his recovery. I had called as I went from home, and then he was very ill, and told me, "He thought that illness would conclude his time in this world, but said that all was well; and that he had a great concern upon his mind for the growth and prosperity of truth in the earth, and desired with tenderness of spirit, that I would give his dear love to all Friends;" and he now said, "I thought never to see thee more, but am glad to see thee." I stayed there all night, and in the morning we had a comfortable, heart-melting time together, in which was revived the remembrance of the many favorable seasons of God's love we had enjoyed in our travels in the work of the ministry of the gospel of Christ, and we tenderly prayed, if we never met more in this world, we might meet in that which is to come, never more to part, but forever live to sing with all the saints and holy angels, hallelujah to God and the Lamb. From Darby I went to Philadelphia Third-day meeting, and from thence to my house, where my dear wife and children with open hearts and arms received me, and I them with joy; at which time I had a gracious reward of peace for my labor of love,

which far exceeded silver or gold. In this journey I travelled above three hundred miles, had nineteen meetings, and was from home above three weeks, in which time I recovered of my lameness to admiration, so that I had with satisfaction to remember the apostle's saying, that "All things work together for good to them that love God."

After my return I was at the General Meeting at Frankford; and in the beginning of the Ninth month I was at meetings at Abington, Germantown, and divers times at Philadelphia, particularly at the Youths' Meeting, wherein several testimonies were borne, and the youth exhorted to piety and humility.

On the 5th day of this month in the morning, being under a consideration of the many sore exercises and trials I had met with from my childhood, I was much affected; but the following portions of Scripture being brought to my remembrance, afforded me some relief: "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth." "If ye be without chastisement, ye are bastards, and not sons." "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." So that I patiently bore my affliction and praised God under it.

In this month I was at the funeral of our worthy, ancient Friend, Thomas Lightfoot. He was buried at Darby; the meeting was the largest that I had ever seen at that place. Our dear friend was greatly beloved for his piety and virtue, his sweet disposition and lively ministry: the Lord was with him in his life and death, and with us at his burial.

I was also about this time at Germantown, and at a General Meeting at Plymouth, to my great satisfaction, being accompanied by my ancient friend Rowland Ellis; and at the Third-day meeting in Philadelphia, at the time of our fall fair; there were fervent desires and prayers in several of us, that the youth might be preserved from the evils prevalent at such times of liberty and profaneness.

About the 20th of the month I went for Long Island, being drawn in true love to make a general visit to Friends there; and likewise having some business to transact. On the Fifth day of the week, Thomas Masters and I set out from Frankford, and in the evening we got to a Friend's house, near the falls of Delaware, where we were kindly entertained, and our horses taken good care of: to take due care of travellers' horses is a commendable thing, and more grateful to some travellers than to take care of themselves. From the falls of Delaware we travelled next day to Piscataway, and lodged at an inn; and on the next day we went to Woodbridge, to John Kinsey's, where on the First day we had a satisfactory meeting with Friends and others. On the following day John Kinsey went with us to Long Island, and that night got to John Rodman's, and next day we rested, being weary with travelling so far in the cold. Our dear friends in that island very lovingly received my visit to them; so that I had occasion to remember that saying of the holy Scripture, "Iron sharpeneth

iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend!"

The Fifth day of the week we had a large meeting at Flushing, and another in the evening at Obadiah Lawrence's, which was an open, tender time. From Flushing we went to Cow-neck, to Joseph Latham's, who went with me to Westbury meeting, which, considering the cold, was much larger than I expected. From Westbury, Nathaniel Simmons, Samuel Underhill, and Phebe Willet, went with us to Bethpage, where we had a comfortable evening meeting at the house of Thomas Powell, who went with us next morning to a town called Setawket; it was as cold a day's travel as ever I went through in all my life; the wind was in our faces, and northerly. I do not remember, though I had been a traveller above thirty years, that ever I endured so much hardship by cold in one day; my chin and jaws were much affected with the frost for several days; but we had a good meeting that made up for all. After which we went ten miles to Amos Willet's house, where we had a serviceable meeting; he invited his neighbors, who came and received us with hearts full of good will; and those not of our Society were well satisfied with the meeting; so that we went on our way rejoicing that we were favored with the good presence of God in our journey. Amos Willet and his wife went with us to Huntington, where we had a quiet, peaceable meeting, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ was with us, as many can witness that were there. From

hence we went to Samuel Underhill's, and visited his weak brother; in which visit the Lord mightily refreshed us together, and we blessed his holy name, for "He is good to all them who put their trust in him." Next day we had a large meeting at Matinicock, and had an evening meeting at Thomas Pear-sall's. The next day being a snowy, stormy day, and one of the shortest in the year, we went, being eighteen in company, to Cow-neck, where we had a good meeting, and much larger than could be expected. After meeting we went to Joseph Latham's, and had a tender, open evening meeting, in which we were edified and refreshed in Christ Jesus.

From Cow-neck I went to Flushing, had a large meeting on the First day of the week, and on Second day went over the sound which divides Long Island from the main continent, to Horse-neck, and had a meeting where I understood there never had been one before: the people were sober and attentive, and some expressed their satisfaction. That evening we had a meeting at an inn near Byram river, where divers people came, and were attentive; the innkeeper, his father, brother, wife, and several others, took our visit very kindly; though there was one restless man, who seemed to be out of order with drink before he came into the house. When we were sitting in silence waiting for the gift of Christ, and worshipping in spirit, as Christ instituted, he sitting by me, jogged me, and said, "It is time to begin, for there are as many come as will come to-night;" he was mistaken



in that; but not having patience to watch and pray, he went away; after which we had a good meeting. These two meetings were in the Government of Connecticut, where they formerly made a law imposing a fine of five pounds on those who should entertain any of our Society, which law I was informed was repealed in Great Britain. From thence we travelled into New York government, and had a meeting at Rye, and another at Mamaroneck; then to West Chester, and had a meeting there on a Sixth day of the week, intending to go over the ferry next day to Long Island; but the wind being high and boisterous, so that we could not get over, we tarried three nights at the house of John Stephenson, where we were lovingly and generously entertained. On First day we were again at West Chester meeting, which ended comfortably, though I was in a low state both of body and mind in the beginning of it. On Second day we all got well over the ferry to Long Island, parting with our friends at the ferry in much love and good will. Joseph Latham having been my fellow-traveller on the main, I went to his house; then to Westbury to a large meeting, and next to Bethpage, and had a meeting there; and in the evening, accompanied by Samuel Bowne and Joseph Latham, I went to Jerusalem, and had a large and satisfactory meeting: many of the people of the town who were there, came the next day to our meeting at Hempstead, which was large. The great Lord of all was good to us that day, which I hope many who were there will not

forget; and some conviction was wrought on some who were of account in the world, at these last-mentioned meetings; one who lived at Jerusalem, with tenderness of spirit, desired my remembrance, whom I pray God to preserve to the end, with all those who love and fear him, and believe in his Son.

From Hempstead I went to Matinicoek, where, on a First day of the week, we had a large and good meeting; then to Thomas Townsend's, on the Plains, at whose house we had an evening meeting. Next morning many Friends from the Plains went with us to the south side of the island, to a place called Rockaway, where we had a meeting at Hicks's, the neighbors coming to it pretty generally; there was great openness to receive the doctrine of truth in those not of our Society, and they were very kind to us in those parts. This was the second meeting I had been at in this place, Benjamin Holme having the first there, since which they had not been visited by any Friend in the ministry except myself. From Rockaway we went to Foster's meadow, where was a large gathering of people, and Christ filled our hearts with divine love. I then went to Peter Titus's, and had a meeting at his house, to which came the neighbors, and were well affected; and next day we had a meeting in the meeting-house at Westbury, which was very large and to our satisfaction. From Westbury, in the evening, we went to visit a young woman who had been in a despairing condition for several years. The family came together, and we put up our prayers to

the Almighty, in the name of his dear Son; it was a good time to us all; and the young woman and some others expressed their satisfaction.

This evening we went to see another young woman who was in a deep consumption, but in a very comfortable state of mind; having a great desire to see me before she died, she sent for me to come to her, and her desire was answered, her spirit being revived with a fresh visitation of the love of Jesus Christ, the holy physician of value, and our supplications were, that the Lord would be pleased to be with her, and support her to the end, and grant her an easy passage from this life to his glorious kingdom, when it should please him to remove her; which prayer we have cause to hope was answered.

Though the days were short and the weather exceedingly cold, we rode about fifteen miles and made these two visits, after that great meeting at Westbury; but our good Master supported us, and was with us in our exercises and service for his name and truth's sake. I lodged this night at Joseph Rodman's, and was next day at Flushing week-day meeting, which was very large and satisfactory; had a meeting the same evening at Samuel Bowne's, and the next day went to New York, and had a quiet, good meeting in the evening at Samuel Harrison's, and on the morrow had an evening meeting at a place called the Kills, at the house of Richard Hallet, and the next day being First day, had a large meeting at Newtown, to the edification of Friends and other sober people.

It being now generally known that I was on the island, the people flocked to meetings, though the weather was extremely cold, for the Lord in the riches of his love manifested himself unto us in our meetings for the worship of his holy name. The next meeting was at James Jackson's, at Rocky-hill, where was Judge Hicks, the high sheriff, and a justice of the peace, with several other persons of note, with whom, and our friends, we had a good time to set forth the work of grace and reformation, I think, to general satisfaction, for which we blessed the holy name of God, and humble prayer was put up to him for all men, and particularly for our King George, as also for all in authority under him, and that they might be a terror to evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well. The next meeting was at Jamaica, which was also large, and several in authority were there, and were very loving and respectful. The next First day we had a large meeting at Cow-neck, which was somewhat crowded. Though my exercises were very great, I was glad that there was such openness and room in people's hearts to receive the doctrine which I had to declare unto them, in the name and power of Christ; afterwards we had an evening meeting with the widow Titus, to which divers Dutch people came, and were very attentive and sober. On the Third day of the week we had a meeting near the place called Hurl-gate, a narrow passage in the great sound or bay, between Long Island and the main land. Several justices and their wives attended it,

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one of whom had disowned his son and turned him out of doors for coming among us ; but beholding his son's sober conversation, he grew more moderate, and after meeting he and his wife invited us to dine with them ; but we were engaged to visit the widow Stephens that evening, at whose house we had a meeting. Going thither, it being very cold and stormy, my hands were touched with the frost, and perceiving it when I came to the fire, I called for a basin of cold water, which soon cured them : I note this that others may reap benefit thereby. Next day we went to the week-day meeting at Newtown, and on Fifth day to Flushing meeting, which was large and to edification, and in the evening had a meeting at our ancient friend Hugh Cowperthwait's, which was acceptable to him, as he expressed when it was ended ; and to us also. On Seventh day we had a very large evening meeting at Thomas Pearsall's, and likewise a large, good meeting, the day after, being First day, at Matinicock, wherein the kingdom of Christ was exalted, and the deformed state of sin and iniquity represented, and the example and doctrine of Christ closely recommended, in order to the overcoming of sin, this being not only possible, but the duty of Christians, through the power of Christ and true faith in his holy name. The danger of believing that it is impossible to overcome sin was opened to them, and that such a belief is contrary to, and against Christ and his doctrine, and darkens and blinds the hearts of men ; but the love of Christ enlightens the

soul, and strengthens it to believe that all things are possible with God ; for this great work cannot be done in the will, wit, and power of man, but through the power and grace of Christ, which he promised to true believers in him.

I was faint after this meeting, but resting a little, soon grew better, so that we had an evening meeting at James Cock's, where one came and told us, we must not eat any flesh, and produced Thomas Tryon's works for his proof. I took the bible and showed him proof to the contrary, and told him we were resolved to believe our book before his, and showed him from the apostle, that the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, nor divers washings, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Though at the same time, according to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, I was for temperance in meats and drinks, as well as moderation in apparel. The next day we had a very large meeting at Oyster bay, many being there who were not of our Society, who steadily gave attention to what was declared; and there being many young people, they were persuaded to give up their blooming years to do the will of God, and to remember him their Creator, in their youthful days. Friends said there had not been such a meeting there a great while, for which opportunity I was humbly thankful to the Lord. After meeting we went to Samuel Underhill's, and had an evening meeting with his brother, who, through sickness and lameness, could not get out for a long time. Next day Samuel Bowne

being with me, we went to visit a young woman who was weak in body, but lay in a comfortable frame of mind; she was thankful for our visit, and said the visits of her friends were comfortable to her. Next day being the Fourth of the week, we had a meeting at the widow Taylor's, who desired it on account of her father, then in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and so infirm, that he could not get to meetings; he was very clear in his understanding and memory, and was much refreshed with this meeting, as were divers of us also. Next day we had a meeting at Flushing, which was large and open, and the grace and power of Christ was with us in the ministration of the gospel. After this meeting we had an evening meeting with our ancient friend Joseph Thorne, who by reason of his age and infirmity could not go abroad as far as the meeting-house: many of his neighbors and friends came, and we had a solid, good time together. While at Flushing, I went to visit a young woman who was a most sad spectacle to behold, an object of great pity: her face, hand, and foot being much eaten away by the king's evil; our prayers were, that now in her great misery, the Almighty would be pleased to support her soul by his grace and spirit, and sanctify her affliction to her, that it might work for her a more exceeding weight of glory in that world which is to come. The next First day we had a large meeting at Flushing, wherein many weighty truths were opened to the satisfaction and edification of the auditory, and in the evening we

had a meeting with the wife of Matthew Farrington, who was too weakly to go abroad; the neighbors came in, and we had a seasonable opportunity. On Third day was the Youths' Meeting at Flushing, in which we were concerned to exhort them to obedience to God and their parents, and to follow their parents as they follow Christ; for where any leave Christ, there we are to leave their example, though they were our fathers or mothers; and the right honoring of our parents was set forth, and they exhorted not to despise the day of small things; the happy state of the obedient, and the unhappy state of the disobedient, with many other weighty truths were delivered to them in that meeting, by several experienced Friends. From Flushing I went to the week-day meeting at Newtown, and in the evening we had a meeting at the widow Way's; the neighbors coming in, we had a good time with them: the parable of the ten virgins was treated of, and the great disadvantage of wanting the divine oil of grace in our vessels, was shown to them.

The next day being the Fifth of the week, we had a very large, satisfactory meeting at the widow Alsop's, at the Kills; and from thence with several Friends went to New York, where we had three meetings to our edification, the weather still remaining very cold, but we felt the love of Christ to warm our hearts, and though I think I never felt it colder, I never had my health better. Several Friends accompanied us to the boat at New York, the water



being open on that side, we took our leave of each other, and put out for the other shore; but before we got there, we were blocked up in the ice, and it was a considerable time before we could work our way through, but at last got well on Long Island, where I waited some hours for company, who through some difficulty got on shore. We went to the Narrows through a storm of wind and snow, but the wind being high, we could not get over that night nor the next day, the ice having come down and filled the bay: when the tide had driven away the ice, we put out and got well over, and lodged at the ferry-house on Staten Island. Next morning we went to the ferry at the Blazing Star, over against Woodbridge, but it was all fastened with ice, and we not daring to venture over it, went to the ferry at Amboy, and got comfortably over, stayed there that night, and next day went to Trenton and lodged at Captain Gould's, who treated me very kindly, I being much tired with travelling. Next morning I went over Delaware river on the ice, as we had done the day before over the Rariton, and that day being the 5th of Twelfth month, I got safely home to my loving spouse and tender children, where I found all well and a hearty reception, having travelled six hundred miles, and attended above sixty meetings.

After having been at home, at our own meeting at Frankford, I went to the Quarterly Meeting at Philadelphia, where Friends were glad to see me.

On the next Fifth day I was at the marriage of

Thomas Masters and Hannah Dickinson, where were many sober people not of our Society.

Having been lately among Friends at Long Island, and been comforted in the many opportunities we had together, it came into my mind to visit them with an epistle at their Quarterly Meeting at Flushing, which was as followeth :

“FRANKFORD, *Twelfth month*, 1725.

“MY DEAR AND WELL BELOVED FRIENDS, — Believing it might be acceptable to you to hear that I was got well to my habitation in such a difficult time of the year as that in which I set out from you ; and also feeling the sweet influence of the love of the heavenly Father, and his dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ, to arise and spring in my heart, and flowing towards you, it came into my mind to write a few lines to the Quarterly Meeting of Friends at Flushing, by way of epistle, well knowing also that many of us are as epistles written in one another's hearts by the finger of the Most High ; and those characters of divine love so written will not easily be erased. I could willingly have been at your Quarterly Meeting, but had been so long from my family, that I was much wanted therein, and my coming home was seasonable and acceptable, both to them and my friends ; and I humbly thank the Lord, I found all well. That which is on my mind to your Quarterly Meeting, is concerning the government of the church of Christ, of which he is the holy head and lawgiver ; wherefore

we are to seek and wait for counsel and wisdom from him, in all our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, for the well ordering of our little Society, which is growing and increasing in the earth, and also in your island, notwithstanding the invidious attempts of some men of corrupt minds; and it will grow and increase more and more, as we keep our places, our heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

“Dear Friends, the good order of truth and the government of Christ in his church, is a great help to us and our children, when carried on in Christ’s spirit; [pray observe or mind that;] for if our order and church government be carried on in the spirit of man, as he is mere man, though he is ever so crafty or cunning, it will do more hurt than good in the church of Christ. Christ’s spirit must govern Christ’s church; and when and where that is over all, then and there Christ’s church and kingdom are exalted, of whose kingdom and peace there will be no end; and happy will all those be whose end is in it. Moses, that man of God, governed in the Jewish church in the spirit of God, and when he found the work too heavy for him, the Lord put his spirit on seventy more, who were help-meets in the government; so that it was God’s spirit that governed; and while that ruled, all was well; but when they went from that, they fell into error and disobedience. At length the Messiah came, and he governed his own little flock himself; and when he ascended up on high, he promised that his spirit should be with and

in his church forever, and be their holy guide into all truth, in which he would also comfort them : and Christ fulfilled this his promise ; for when his disciples waited at Jerusalem to be endued with power from on high, according to the advice of their Lord, they were filled with the gift and grace of the Holy Spirit. And when the brethren and elders met together about the affairs and government of the church, they gave forth rules and orders from that general meeting to the particular ones ; and the Holy Ghost presided amongst them, which they signified to the other meetings, saying, ‘ It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to put you in mind of such and such things.’ And while this Holy Ghost, or Spirit, governed in the primitive Christian Church, all was well ; God and Christ was glorified, and his church and people edified ; but by going from that the apostasy came in.

“ Wherefore, dear Friends, keep close to the spirit, power, light, and divine life of Christ Jesus, in your Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for the government of the church, as well as in your meetings for the worship of the Almighty ; for if we go from that he will go from us.

“ And, dear Friends, the testimony of Jesus, in the spirit of prophecy, opens in me after this manner, that if our Society keep and live up to the spirit and truth of Christ, which hath been manifested to our forefathers, and to us also in this age, the great Lord of all will prosper his work in our hands, and bless

both us and our children, as we and they keep therein.

“And as we have kept close to this our heavenly guide, how hath the Lord sweetly manifested his love and power to us in our meetings for the well ordering of our Society? which many times hath filled our hearts with pure praises and holy thanksgiving to the high and lofty One who inhabits eternity, and dwells in the highest heavens, and is light forever: to whom, with the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, I recommend you, my dear and well beloved friends, brethren and sisters in Christ, with my own soul.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

“P. S. Since my return I have been thankful to God for the many favorable visitations and good opportunities he was pleased to grant me with you and divers sober people on your island, in which there is an open door among many to receive the testimony of Truth. I commend your nobility in building good houses, and making room for your sober neighbors to sit with you in your meetings; this is of good report concerning you, both far and near, and if I apprehend right, there is more work of that kind for you to do. I thought often, when among you, and now also, that there would be a large gathering, if there were a house built at the upper end of the Great Plains, not far from Foster's meadow; but every one may not think or see alike; though I know some solid Friends among you, thought the same with me, about the

prospect of a large gathering thereaway, if a house were built; to which Friends and well inclined people might come from Hempstead, Rocky-hill, Rockaway, Foster's meadow, etc.      THOMAS CHALKLEY."

After my service on Long Island, I had great sweetness upon my spirit for some time, which sometimes caused my heart to sing for joy; and yet I rejoiced in a trembling frame of spirit, and had the true sense of what is written in the holy Scriptures, where it is said, "Serve the Lord with fear," I take it to be filial fear, "and rejoice with trembling," for fear of losing that precious sense of the love of God which is in Christ.

On the 20th of the Twelfth month, the First day of the week, I was at Abington meeting, in which the love of Christ was manifested to us, in the opening of his saying, "If I be lifted up, I will draw all men unto me." The next day I was at Germantown, at the burial of a son of Dennis Conrad, at which also was our friend Abigail Bowles. On the Sixth day following, I went to the General Meeting of ministers and elders at Burlington, where I again met with our said friend and divers others. The First day meeting was large; and on Second day was the Quarterly Meeting for the county; and on Third day was their Youths' Meeting, where many weighty truths were delivered. On Fourth day we were at a meeting at Springfield; the house was pretty much thronged, and Friends were exhorted thankfully to commemo-

rate the mercies and favors of the Almighty to them, and desired to enlarge their meeting-houses as their number increased; for in those parts there was such an openness in the hearts of the people and increase of their number, that Friends had already agreed on building two meeting-houses between Crosswicks and Burlington; their zeal and unanimity therein, were worthy of commendation. Fifth day being the week-day meeting at Burlington, Friends of the town desired I would stay at it. I thought we had just before had divers good opportunities, and my own inclination seemed to lead to my family; but Friends being desirous of my staying, I did so, and we had a good meeting. After it, a solid Friend said, "he thought we had the best wine at last;" and indeed the love of God, through Christ, is so sweet to his people, that the last often seems the best, when it is **only** a renewed visitation of the same love to his children. I went home rejoicing that I was in some measure accounted worthy to serve so good and so gracious a Master.

On the 6th day of the First month, being the first of the week, I was at the morning and afternoon meetings in Philadelphia, wherein those who call themselves freethinkers, were exhorted to be careful of drinking too freely, lest they might justly be called free-drinkers; for many times such, when they drink too freely of strong liquor, think and speak too freely their own corrupt notions to the dishonor of God, and to the scandal of religion in general.

In this month I went to the Jerseys, and was at three large meetings in company with Abigail Bowles, in which our said friend had good service, to the comfort of Friends, convincing of gainsayers, and confirming the weak, and the people were glad of our visit.

The 15th day of this month I was at Burlington, at the burial of my good friend and old acquaintance, Abraham Bickley, at whose funeral were great numbers of people, he being well beloved of his neighbors. Christ's raising Lazarus out of the grave, and his tenderness and weeping there, were spoken of, in order to stir people up to a tender, religious exercise of mind, which is much wanting among many of the professors of his holy name, who have too little sense of that which should bring true tenderness over their minds, being more in earth than heaven; so that they are dry and barren, as to the things of God. The meeting ended to satisfaction, with supplications to the Almighty.

A few days after I was at our General Spring Meeting in Philadelphia, which was large; where our friends Robert Jordan and Abigail Bowles had good service.

This week I was at four very large meetings at Philadelphia, Frankford, and Abington, much to my satisfaction, though I had no vocal service therein; yet my heart was broken into tenderness and tears, under several weighty, solid testimonies, that were borne by living ministers, qualified to preach the



gospel in the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power.

The 26th of the First month, 1726, I went to Germantown meeting, which was large, and I was opened therein to speak of the vision of the prophet Ezekiel, of the holy waters, which proceeded from under the threshold of the sanctuary, which the angel measuring, they grew deeper and deeper, until they became a river to swim in. Which showeth the work of grace, conversion, and regeneration; and that these holy waters, of which the soul must drink and be washed, and baptized in, are spiritual and supernatural, and therefore not to be measured by the spirit and will of man, in his natural state, according to the prophet Isaiah. Man, before he can swim therein, must be stripped of all his self-righteousness and artificial religion, though as splendid and beautiful as a gallant ship, or galley with oars, in which respect it is agreeable to the state of men swimming in elementary water, where the most skilful have sometimes lost their lives, for want of being unclothed. Those who had not yet attained much experience, were advised not to go out of their depth, but to wait in patience and humility, to enjoy the medicinal virtue of the trees growing by the side of this river, whose fruit is for meat and its leaves for medicine. The people of this meeting were generally Germans, several of whom stayed in the house after it was over, and were broken into tenderness, in a sense of the presence and

love of God unto us, for which I was also humbly thankful and bowed in spirit.

I was at the Third-day weekly meeting in Philadelphia, which was but small, considering the large number of those professing to be of our Society in this city; those present were closely and tenderly exhorted to be zealous for good works, and against bad works; not respecting the person of any man. The abominations committed by some under our profession in this city and province, call for humiliation; and as the promise of God's favor was to those who mourned with sighs and cries for the abominations among his people formerly, so now, as many as are under the same concern, may hope for preservation and salvation, if He should in like manner visit us, as at this time he doth some of our neighbors; there being a great sickness and mortality in some of the adjacent places.

In the Second month I visited the meetings of Friends at Haverford, Newtown, Radnor, and Merion; which meetings consist chiefly of ancient Britons, who are a religious, industrious, and increasing people; among whom my service was, as they expressed, to our mutual satisfaction. After my return home, I went to visit Friends at the falls of Delaware, and was at a large meeting in their new meeting-house. After a satisfactory meeting at Frankford, on the Fifth day of the same week I went with Ennion Williams to his son's marriage; next day he and several other Friends accompanied me to Woodbury creek, and had a good,

open meeting, and that night went to James Lord's, and next morning towards Salem, and lodged at Isaac Sharp's; where I was informed of a great mortality at Cohansey. The 24th of the Second month was the General Meeting at Salem, which was a large gathering of people of different persuasions, from many parts of the country, where the doctrine of the gospel was preached in great love to the people, which they heard with solid attention. From Salem I went to Alloway's creek and Cohansey, and had meetings there. I was informed that more than seventy persons had lately died here of a malignant distemper, though it seemed to abate, none dying while we were there. At Cohansey the meeting was large and solid, though but few of our Society reside there; and they were earnestly admonished to a proper disposition of mind, to fit them either for life or death, and reminded of the regard of the Almighty to such as live in his fear, who will have peace in their death, and their change will be glorious, when they are taken out of this life; but with the wicked it is not so.

From Cohansey I went through the wilderness over Maurice river, accompanied by James Daniel, through a miry, boggy way, in which we saw no house for about forty miles, except at the ferry; and that night we got to Richard Townsend's, at Cape May, where we were kindly received. Next day we had a meeting at Rebecca Garrison's, and the day after a pretty large one at Richard Townsend's, and then went down to the Cape, and had a meeting at John Page's,

and next day another at Aaron Leaming's; several expressed their satisfaction with those meetings. I lodged two nights at Jacob Spicer's, my wife's brother.

From Cape May we travelled along the sea-coast to Great Egg Harbor, had another meeting much larger than the first, at Rebecca Garrison's, and here I was much concerned to promote the settlement of a monthly meeting, for the well ordering of the affairs of our Society.

We swam our horses over Egg Harbor river, and went over ourselves in canoes, and afterwards had a meeting at Richard Summers', which was as large as could be expected, considering the people live at such a distance from each other.

The next meeting we had at John Scull's; on First day we had a large one at Peter White's; on Second day at Japhet Leeds'; and then we went five miles through a marsh to Little Egg Harbor river, and had a meeting in their meeting-house on the Fourth day of the week, and 11th day of the month, which was larger by the addition of the owners, masters, and mariners of two sloops from New York, who, hearing of the meeting, came to it. Next day we had another meeting at the same place, and lodged at Jarvis Faro's. After these two meetings I left Egg Harbor, accompanied by several Friends, and travelled about forty miles before we came to any house. In the evening we reached a Friend's house, where we were kindly entertained, and next morning got to Burlington, and

so home, where I found all well, and was thankful therefor to the Almighty. In this journey I travelled about three hundred miles, had twenty-one meetings, and was from home about three weeks.

In the Third month I stayed at and about home, visiting the meetings at Philadelphia, Germantown, Abington, and Frankford.

In the Fourth month I left my family, and went back in the woods as far as Oley. I was from home nine days, travelled about one hundred and fifty miles, and had six meetings at Oley, Perkiomen, and divers other places, chiefly in barns and open places, there being large companies of people, and few meeting-houses yet built in those parts of the country. In this journey I suffered much through the heat. The first meeting was at the iron works settled a little beyond a place called Mount Misery. I was concerned for those people, having heard of their rude doings before I left my habitation; and although some were rude, others behaved themselves soberly, and expressed their thankfulness for that visitation, as I do for the opportunity I had of clearing myself to them. On my return homewards, I crossed Schuylkill, and went to Samuel Nutt's iron works, where I had a large, quiet, solid meeting; and the next day called to see my old friend David Meredith, who being about eighty-nine years of age, I thought it probable I might not have another opportunity of seeing. He met me with gladness, and told me it was their meeting-day; so I stayed, and was

much comforted and tendered by the power of Christ; after which I came home that night.

On the next First day after my return I went to Philadelphia, and then to a Yearly Meeting in Chester county, held at Goshen; though the season was wet, this was a large, good meeting; at which there were three young men, who had lately been called to the work of the ministry, whom I was glad to hear declare the truth in the power and simplicity of the gospel of Christ, being of the mind of Moses, when he said, in answer to Joshua, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put of his spirit upon them." After this meeting I went to Springfield, and the next day returned home.

On the 22d of the Fourth month I went to the marriage of John Lee's daughter, at Springfield, in Chester county. I was concerned to speak mostly to the young people, advising them to seek the Lord in that great affair of marriage, that they be careful on whom they set their affections, and not to draw out one another's minds, if they did not intend an honorable marriage; reminding them of the ill tendency of courting several at a time, or suffering several to court at once, and that they be chaste and true in their proceedings, duly regarding the advice of the apostle, "Be not unequally yoked;" for all such marriages are unequal, when those who marry are of different principles of religion. The meeting ended with tender supplication for preservation through whatever exercises, further troubles or trials, tempta-

tions or afflictions, we might meet with in the world, that so we might end well at last, and live forever to praise and glorify God and the Lamb, who, through the holy, eternal Spirit, is worthy forever.

On the receipt of the last letter from my dear father, which I some time since mentioned, I was apprehensive it might be his last, which it proved to be; for the next letter from my dear brother gave me intelligence of his death, which I received the 25th of the Fourth month this year. The news of my dear father's decease took such hold of my mind, though I daily expected it, that for some time I was hardly sociable. Oh! how have I been sometimes comforted in his loving and tender epistles! at the receipt of which I have cried to the Lord, that if it pleased him, I might have a double portion of the spirit which he gave to my father. But now I must never hear more from him in this world; yet in this I have some inward comfort, that I hope we shall meet where we shall never part. Here follows a part of my affectionate brother's account of my father's death and burial.

“EDMONTON, 25th of the First month, 1726.

“DEAR BROTHER,— This comes with the sorrowful account of our dear father's decease, who departed this life the 7th instant, after having been indisposed about a fortnight. I have herewith sent a particular account of some remarkable passages, and his last expressions in his sickness; that part relating to his

convincement, he desired should be committed to writing, which I have done, and sent it to thee.

“I was with him several times in his last illness, and most of the last two days of his life, as thou mayest perceive by the contents. Our worthy father was honorably buried on the 11th instant, being carried from his own house to the meeting-house at Horsleydown, accompanied by his relations, where was a large meeting of as many people as the meeting-house could well contain, and many testimonies were borne to the innocent, exemplary life, integrity, and honest zeal of our dear father, so concurrent and unanimous, that I have hardly known any such occasion more remarkable: he was accompanied from thence to the grave very solemnly, and there in like manner interred, where a further testimony was given to his honest life and conversation, and lively zeal for the holy truth, whereof he made profession.

“Dear brother, though it be a sorrowful occasion of writing, yet herein we may be comforted in consideration that our father went to his grave in peace in a good old age: he had his understanding and memory to the last. I believe, as I have sometimes said, that he embraced death as joyfully as ever he did any happy accident of his life. I remember one passage of his cheerful resignation;—finding him fine and cheery when I came to see him, a week before his decease, and he showing me how well he could walk about the room, and would have gone out of it, though he was very bad the day before, I said, ‘Father, I



hope thou wilt get over this illness ;' but he answered me pretty quick and loud, ' No, but I don't though.' It is not long since he was at my house, and was cheerful and well, but spoke as if he thought it would be the last time. My wife said, ' Father, thou mayest live some years ; but he replied, ' Is it not better for me to die, and go to Christ ?' So, dear brother, with dear love to thee, my sister, and thy dear children and our relations, I conclude with earnest desires for thy health and welfare,

"Thy affectionate brother,

"GEORGE CHALKLEY."

## CHAPTER VIII.

1726-1727.

Convincement and Last Sickness of George Chalkley — Testimony respecting him by Thomas Chalkley — Christians may not Swear — Grievous Declension among some of the Youth — The Blessings of Temperance — Unusual Mortality — Divine Displeasure with the People — Religious Labor in Barbadoes — Convincement that the Use of the Sword is Unchristian — Instruction to a Schoolmaster — Letter to a Son-in-law — Continued Losses.

*An Account of my Father's Convincement, and of his Last Sickness and Dying Words.*

My father was born of religious parents at Kemp-ton, near Hitching, in Hertfordshire, the 1st of the Ninth month, 1642; his father's name was Thomas Chalkley, by trade, a dealer in meal; by profession, of the Church of England, and zealous in his way, as was also his wife.

They had four sons and three daughters, John, George, Thomas, and Robert; Elizabeth, Sarah, and Mary. My father being the third son, was convinced very young at a meeting by Enfield-Chace-Side, near Winchmore hill, through the powerful ministry of William Brend, who was an eminent minister in

the Lord's hand in that day, and had been a great sufferer for his testimony in New England. He was preaching, as I heard my father several times say, upon the words of the preacher, "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." Upon this subject he spoke so home to my father's state and condition, that he was convinced, and two others of his companions were reached and affected with the testimony of Christ's truth and gospel. My father and two young men had been walking in the fields, having religious conversation together, and were providentially directed to the meeting, by observing some Friends going to it, whom they followed thither: one of his companions was Samuel Hodges, who lived and died a faithful Friend, at whose house in succeeding times a meeting was settled, and is there continued, and a meeting-house built at this day at Mims in Hertfordshire.

My father was the first of the family who received the testimony of truth as it is in Jesus, after which his father and mother were convinced, and all his brothers and sisters, who lived and died honest Friends; except one who died young, continuing in the Church of England persuasion. Soon after the convincement of my father and his two companions aforesaid, they met with a trial of their faith and patience; for being taken at a religious meeting of

Friends, they were all three committed to the new prison in Whitechapel, where having continued prisoners for some time, the magistrates observing their Christian courage, boldness, and innocency, and being touched with tenderness towards them, considering their youth, discharged them.

My father about the twenty-fifth year of his age, married my mother, a virtuous young woman, who was the widow of Nathaniel Harding, a Friend who died under the sentence of banishment for his profession of Christ; the above account I had from my father's own mouth; what follows fell within my own observation.

My dear father met with great exercises and disappointments in his early days; he, dealing in his father's business, sold meal to some who broke in his debt, which brought him low in the world, in which low estate he was an eminent example of patience, resignation, and industry, laboring with his hands for the support of his family, and conscientiously answering all his engagements; so that it may be justly said of him, he was careful that he might owe nothing to any man but love. He was very constant in keeping to meetings, being a good example therein, though in very hot times of persecution; for when Friends were sorely and severely persecuted on account of keeping their religious meetings, and the prisons filled with them through the nation, and their goods taken away, and much spoil and havoc made about the years 1680 to 1684, my father constantly

attended meetings, and never missed, as I remember, when well. He was sometimes concerned to speak by way of exhortation to Friends in their public meetings, when they were kept out of their meeting-houses by the then powers, to stand faithful to the truth, and testifying of the solid comfort and satisfaction those had who truly waited on the Lord, which the faithful enjoyed, notwithstanding their deep and many sufferings for Christ's sake and his gospel; and it pleased the Lord to preserve him by his divine providence, that he did not suffer imprisonment, though the wicked informers were very busy in that time of severe persecution. I may further add, that when my father was about sixty years of age, he had a concern to visit Friends in the north of England, and some other parts of the nation; and in the seventy-fifth year of his age he travelled to Chester, and from thence, in company with James Bates, a public Friend of Virginia, went over for Ireland; in all which services he had good satisfaction, and was well received of Friends: divers other journeys and travels he performed, not here noted; but this journey into another nation at seventy-five years of age, shows that age had not quenched his love and zeal for his Lord's work and service.

Our father's old age was attended with very great exercises: about his seventy-seventh year, as he was assisting his men in the dusk of the evening, he missed his footing, fell down and broke his leg; and soon after his leg was well, he met with another

accident by a fall, which disabled him, and made him lame to his death, never recovering the hurt, which was after this manner : he was sitting in a chair by his door, on a plank, which not being set fast, it fell, and he, to save himself from the stroke of the plank, fell with his hip on the stones, and got hurt exceedingly. Notwithstanding this, he was remarkable for his activity ; he would walk, though so aged, and also lame, as far as the work-house, Devonshire house, and Bull and Mouth meetings, two or three miles from home. The last bad accident that befell him was about three weeks before his death, when, being walking in the timber-yard, a single plank, which stood against a pile, fell down, and striking him on his side, threw him down. He complained not much of the blow till about a week after, when he was taken with a violent pain in his side, on the place where he received the stroke, and when his cough took him, with which he was often troubled, the pain was very great. Through the means used for his relief, he received some ease, the pain of his side abated, and the cough went off ; but a violent flux followed, and brought him very low, so that it was thought he could not continue long ; but he revived. He continued all the time of his illness in a patient and resigned frame of mind ; on First day, in the afternoon, he took his bed, being the 6th of the First month, and in the evening, after the afternoon meeting, which was the First day before his death, several Friends came to visit him, who finding him very weak, after a little

stay went to take their leave of him, whom he desired to sit down, and after some time of silence, he broke forth in declaration in an intelligible and lively manner, to this effect, saying, "We have no continuing city here, but seek one to come, which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God: Friends, may we all labor to be prepared for our last and great change, that when this earthly tabernacle shall be dissolved, we may have an habitation with the Lord, a building not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. And that it might be thus, the Lord hath showed thee, oh! man, what is good, viz.: To do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God. I do not expect but that this will be the last night I shall have in this world, and I desire these things may be remembered as the words of a dying man; oh! that we may labor to be clothed upon with our house that is from heaven, so that when the finishing hour comes, we may have nothing to do but to die." About one or two o'clock the next morning, he began to change, and desired to see me; I came to him and found him very sensible, but expected his end quickly to approach; he saying he was waiting for his change. About the fourth hour in the morning he prayed fervently after this manner: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people. Thou hast given thy Son, a light to enlighten the gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel; and now, Lord, be

with thy people and servants, and preserve my near and dear relations, and keep them from the snares and temptations of the enemy, that in thy truth they may fear thy great name."

After a little time of silence he desired me to remember his dear love, in the life of Christ Jesus, to my dear brother, Thomas Chalkley, in Pennsylvania, and to all his old friends and acquaintance. After some time he spoke cheerfully out aloud, so that all in the room might hear him, "I shall go off about five;" his man said, "Master, how dost know?" To which he answered, "I do not know, but I believe it." About noon, the apothecary, one of his neighbors, among whom he was well beloved, came to see him, and asked him how he was. Father answered, that for three or four hours in the night he thought he should have gone. Why, said he, it will be no surprise to you, I hope. No, no, said my father very cheerfully. He taking leave of father, said, The Lord be with you. To whom he answered, And with thee also. The doctor having ordered him a cordial to drink, he drank it willingly, and then said, I do not think to drink any more in this world; but I hope I shall drink plentifully of the river of life. Finding his strength fail, there being a cord at the bed's feet, he raised himself up thereby as long as he had strength; when last lifted up, he spoke very low and faltering, and said, now I am going, and about an hour after, laying all the while without sigh or groan, departed this life, as in a slumber, in sweet



peace, just as the clock struck five, in the enjoyment of that legacy which our Saviour left his followers; "My peace I leave with you," etc., leaving us, of the succeeding generation, a good example to follow. He died like a lamb, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, the 7th day of the First month, 1725-26.

GEORGE CHALKLEY.

To which account I shall add the following short testimony concerning my dear and greatly beloved father, George Chalkley, viz.:

I have a great deal in my heart, more than I can write concerning my dear father's life, it having been a remarkable life to me from my youth up. His early care of me, and counsel to me, when I was too thoughtless and wild, melts me into tears now in the remembrance of it; and my tender mother was a partner with him in the same exercise, and she died in like peace. The last words I heard her speak were, I long to be dissolved. And as to my tender father, I would record a little briefly in memory of him, that he was a true and faithful servant of Christ, and a tender and affectionate husband. I lived at home with my parents about twenty years: their life was a life of peace and love, and they were an excellent example to us their children. Oh! may we follow them therein to the end!

He had a fatherly care for his children, in tender prayers for us, and in good advice to us, and in giving

us learning according to his ability, and teaching us by his example, as well as precept, industry, humility, and the true religion of our blessed Saviour, endeavoring to plant it in us betimes, and to destroy the evil root of sin in us, while young.

I was his servant as well as his son, and I can truly say his service was delightful, and his company pleasing and profitable to me; and he was also beloved much by his other servants. He was universally beloved by his neighbors, and I do not remember any difference between him and them, in the many years I lived with him; but all was peace and love.

He was very loving to his relations, and true to his friends, and a hearty well-wisher and lover of his king and country.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

Our General Meeting held at Frankford the 30th of Fourth month, was large, our friend, William Pigot, from London, being there, in the course of his visit to Friends in America, and had close work and good service.

In the Fifth month, 1726, I visited the meetings of Friends at Philadelphia, Germantown, Byberry, and Frankford, and had very comfortable satisfaction. My testimony was sometimes pretty sharp to transgressors, and therefore some of them hate me, as the Jews did my great Master; because I was concerned to testify, that their deeds were evil, and to excite my friends to manifest a Christian zeal, by openly denying ungodly men while they continue in their ungodly

works ; but when they become truly penitent, and reform their lives, the arms of Christ and his church will be open to receive them.

Being under some melancholy thoughts, because some persons for whom I wished well, and to whom I had been of service, were so envious and malicious as to tell false stories of me, tending to defame me : as I was riding to our meeting, it opened with satisfaction to my mind, the more my enemies hate me, the more I will love, if that can be. I had hearty desires to come up in the practice of this resolution ; and I then thought I should come up with them all, for if a man loves and prays for his enemies, if they are gained, he is instrumental to their good, and so hath cause of rejoicing ; and if they are not gained, he heaps coals of fire upon their heads ; so that every true Christian, by keeping under the cross of Christ, and in the practice of his doctrine, gets the better of his enemies.

In the beginning of the Sixth month, I was at the burial of Robert Fletcher, a worthy man and one universally beloved by all sorts of people, as far as ever I heard. There was a large meeting at his funeral, wherein several testimonies suitable to the occasion were borne : some of his last words were mentioned, which were, that he had lived according to the measure of grace given him. The doctrine of the resurrection was maintained according to the Scripture, and the people were exhorted to prepare for their final change. The death of this Friend was

a loss to the country, to our Society, and to his neighbors, as well as to his family and friends.

After meeting I travelled towards Uwchland, had a meeting there on First day; on Second day, one at Lewis Walker's, and on Third day was at the General Meeting at Haverford. Friends were exhorted to dwell in the love of God, one towards another; for if they lost their love they would lose their religion, their peace, and their God; for "God is love, and those that dwell in God, dwell in love."

My neighbor, Daniel Worthington, accompanied me in this rough travel, some part of the way being hilly, and very stony and bushy, and the weather wet. We had four meetings, and rode about four-score miles; and though I had travelled much in this province, I had never been at some of those places before. A few nights before I set out, I had a plain prospect of them in a dream, as I saw them afterwards, which I thought somewhat remarkable.

The people inhabiting this province are now become numerous, and make many settlements in the woods, more than I have observed in my travels in any other of the British plantations; and there hath long been a desire in my mind that they might prosper in the work of true and thorough reformation. A godly fear and concern being upon me, I have sometimes put them in mind of the state of this land, when their fathers first came and settled in it; and cautioned them against growing careless, and forgetting the Lord, lest he should forsake them, and turn their now

"fruitful fields into a barren wilderness," as this was so lately; which it is easy with him to do, if he pleases, for the sins of the people.

After my return home, I visited Abington Youths' Meeting, and the meetings at Philadelphia and Chester. At Chester I was concerned to direct the people to that power in themselves, which is the life of religion, and exhorted them to be careful not to rest in the best forms without it; for if we had only the form of godliness, and had not the life and power of it, it might be as reasonable for people to turn away from us, as it was for our forefathers to turn away from other societies.

In the Seventh month I was at our Yearly Meeting held at Burlington, for the provinces of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which was a very large meeting, there being Friends from New England, Rhode Island, and Europe.

First-day morning I went to Evesham, to the burial of our serviceable friend Jervice Stockdale; he being in good esteem, there was much people. The meeting was in a good, tender frame, and continued several hours, in which divers testimonies were delivered, in order to stir up people to truth and righteousness, and godly living, that they might die well. I lodged the night before at Peter Fearon's, and in the morning I was awakened out of my sleep, as it were by a voice, expressing these words: "He that liveth and believeth in me shall never die." This I took to be the voice of Christ; I do not know that

it was vocal, but it was as plain as if it were. From these expressions I had to observe to the people, the happy state and privilege of those who live and believe in Christ, and that such must not live in sin.

During the time of our Yearly Meeting, some rude people came up the river in a small sloop provided by them for that purpose, and spent their time in drinking, carousing, and firing of guns, to the grief and concern of Friends, who were religiously discharging their duty, in serving and worshipping the Almighty. It is observable, that one of these disorderly persons had his hand shot off at that time, and that the chief promoters and actors in this riotous company were soon after cut off by death, in the prime of their days.

After the General Meeting was over, which ended well, Friends, in the love of God, departed in peace for their several habitations, praising and glorifying God.

In the beginning of the Eighth month, having some business at Cape May, I ferried over to Gloucester, and went the first night to James Lord's, lodged there, got up before day, it being First-day morning, and rode near thirty miles to Salem, where we had a good meeting, and so went to Alloway's creek, Cohansey, and through a barren wilderness to Cape May, where we had one meeting, and returned home by way of Egg Harbor; travelling upwards of two hundred miles. At Cape May I was concerned to write a few lines concerning swearing, as follows:

“Christians ought not to swear in any case, for these reasons: First, because Christ, their Lord, forbade it; unto whom the angels in heaven must be subject, and doubtless, so must mortal man, to whom he gave the precept. We must and ought to be subject to Christ, who is Lord of lords, and King of kings, and the Judge of quick and the dead: to him all mortals must be accountable for their disobedience. He says, in his sermon on the mount, ‘I say unto you swear not at all;’ wherefore, how can Christians, or such who are his friends, swear, since he says also, ‘Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you;’ consequently, those who disobey his commands must be his enemies. To this command it is objected, that Christ only spoke against common or profane swearing: but this must needs be a great mistake, because Christ says, ‘It was said in old time, thou shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths,’ alluding to the law of Moses, which oaths were solemn and religious; therefore Christ did not only prohibit vain and profane swearing, but all swearing. If we understand the word *all*, and what *all* signifies, then all and any swearing whatsoever is not lawful for a Christian, according to Christ’s law and command, which is positive to his followers.

“Second; James, the holy apostle of Christ, our lawgiver and our king, says, ‘Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath.’ Christ says, ‘Swear not at all;’ and James, his disciple and apostle,

says, 'Swear not by any oath;' wherefore, if swearing on the Bible be an oath, or is swearing at all, it is contrary to the express doctrine of Christ and his apostle James, as is plain from the above cited texts.

"Third; the primitive Christians did not swear at all, in the first ages of Christianity. Query, whether our modern swearing Christians are better than the primitive ones, who, for Christ and conscience sake, could not swear at all, even before a magistrate, though legally called?

"Fourth; many Christians have suffered death, because for conscience sake they could not swear, and so break the command of Christ their Lord; and do not our modern Christians trample upon their testimony and sufferings? some of whom suffered death for not swearing before the heathen magistrates, and some were martyred by the Papists; judge then whether the persecuted or persecutors were in the right.

"Fifth; many of our worthy Friends and forefathers, since the former, have suffered to death in jails, for not swearing, when required by persecuting Protestants, because for Christ's sake and sayings, as above, they could not swear at all: and this is a testimony which our Society hath constantly borne ever since we have been a people, for the reasons above, and more also, which, if there were occasion, might be given:"

The 23d of the Eighth month I was at the morn-



ing meeting at Philadelphia, on a First day of the week, which was large, and I was concerned therein to exhort Friends to labor to purge and cleanse our Society of those under our profession who live in open profaneness, and are riotous in their conversations. I was at the Bank meeting in the afternoon, where we had a comfortable time : and the next Sixth day of the week, I was at our Monthly Meeting, where it was unanimously agreed, in consideration of some late indecent conduct of some persons pretending to be of our profession, that a testimony from that meeting should go forth against such disorderly doings and unchristian practices ; and that all such persons, who were irregular in their conversations, be disowned to be of our community, until they, by repentance, manifest their reformation ; which was accordingly soon after published, and read in our First-day morning meeting, and in our youths' meeting.

About this time our governor issued a seasonable proclamation against drinking to excess, gaming, swearing profanely, revelling, night-walking, and disturbing the peace, and other immoralities ; which afforded some satisfaction to sober and well inclined Friends and others : yet there remained a great exercise and concern upon my mind, that some young people, whose parents had been careful in training them up, were grown so wicked, that by their extravagant conduct they not only disturbed our religious meetings, but likewise became obnoxious to the peaceable government we live under.

In the Ninth month I was at meetings at Merion, Germantown, Fairhill, Abington, and Philadelphia, in which were several marriages solemnized in a religious manner. In the Tenth month I went into the county of Salem, about my affairs: it happened to be the time of the Quarterly Meeting for Salem and Gloucester counties; but I did not know it, until I came to Salem, where Friends were glad to see me, as I also was to see them; there were some of us whose hearts were knit together as Jonathan's and David's, the love of God being much shed abroad in our hearts at that meeting. When it was over, and I had finished my business, I could not be clear in my mind without having some meetings; and though it was a sickly time, and people died pretty much in those parts where we were going, James Lord and I, in the love of Christ, visited the meetings at Alloway's creek, Cohansey, Pilesgrove, Woodbury, Newton, and Haddonfield, having meetings every day in the week, except the last, and sometimes riding nearly twenty miles after meeting, the days being at the shortest, and the weather very cold; but the Lord was with us, which made amends for all the bodily hardships we met with.

I got home well but weary; and was joyfully received by my loving spouse, children, and servants; and I was truly thankful to the Most High, for his presence and goodness continued to me; so that, though I perceived my bodily strength to decline apace, my sight, hearing, and voice failing much, I

have occasion to believe, at times I was helped even beyond nature in the work of Christ, my dear Lord and Master.

The 27th of the Tenth month, I heard the news of the death of my dear friend John Lee, by one sent to desire my company at his burial; it affected me with sorrow, he being an old acquaintance and friend of mine, with whom I had travelled many miles. He was a living, serviceable minister of the gospel of Christ, and instrumental to convince divers of that principle of divine light and truth which we profess. I could not be at his burial, because of my indisposition, and the unseasonableness of the weather; yet I think it my duty to say this concerning him: that our love and friendship were constant and entire unto the end, having been acquainted about thirty-five years, as near as I can remember.

In the Eleventh month, as I was meditating in my closet, on the duty and beauty of that great virtue of temperance, it appeared very bright to the view of my mind, and the great benefit of it to those who loved and lived in it. First, as to religion, it tends to keep the mind in an even temper, which is a help to devotion and the practice of religious duties. Second, it is a great preservative to health and a good constitution. Third, it is a blessing to posterity, in many considerations. Whereas, intemperance destroys the health, stains the reputation, hurts posterity, in respect to a healthy constitution of body and estate, ruins many families, brings to poverty

and disgrace, and, what is yet worst of all, is a great let to religion and the true fear of God, and is a great scandal to any who make profession of the Christian religion.

In this month I accompanied William Pigot, who lately arrived from London, on a religious visit to the meetings of Friends in America. From Philadelphia we went to my house at Frankford, and from thence to North Wales, and had two large satisfactory meetings on the First day; next day we were at the Monthly Meeting at Abington, Third day at Frankford, and Fourth day at Germantown. Fifth day I went to Philadelphia week-day meeting, and the said Friend to Abington General Meeting, and a few days after we met again at the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia.

The 8th of the Twelfth month was our Youths' Meeting at Frankford; and many persons dying about this time, I was concerned in the meeting to put Friends in mind of their mortality; and that I had told Friends lately, at their meetings at Abington and Philadelphia, that as I was riding from my house to Philadelphia, about a mile from the city, I saw in the vision of life, the hand of the Lord stretched over the city and province, with a rod in it, in order to correct the inhabitants for their sins and iniquities. This sight affected my mind greatly, and although I did not hear any vocal voice, nor see any visible hand, yet it was as plainly revealed to me as though I had. I understood some slighted that testimony, yet I ob-

served to them, that since that time, more people were taken away than common, as they now might see; and indeed that inward sight and sense I had of the displeasure of God, for the sins of the times, made great impression on my mind; and that no flesh might glory, the Lord took, from the evil to come, several sober, well-inclined young people, as well as others whose lives and conversations were evil and vicious; so that all had need to be watchful and turn to the Lord, lest he come at unawares, and call us suddenly out of the world unprepared. In the Twelfth and First months many died, of all ages and professions; and now some, who would hardly give credit to what I had delivered in several meetings, began to see the fulfilling of it, and great talk there was about it: and many solid and large meetings we had with the people at divers funerals about this time, exhorting them not to slight the present visitation of the Almighty, but to prepare for eternity, to meet the Judge of quick and dead, who stands at the door. Among many that were taken away by death, were some few of my particular friends; and first, dear Hannah Hill, who was a bright example of piety and charity; she was like a nursing mother to me in my afflictions, and her husband was more like a brother than one not related, whose generous entertainment I may not forget. Thomas Griffith, and Elizabeth his wife, died also about this time. Thomas was a serviceable man, and well esteemed in our Society; and his wife, a noted woman for being helpful

tó, and visiting the sick: she chose the house of mourning, rather than the house of mirth. These were worthy ancients, who made peaceful and good ends, and to whom may be properly applied that remarkable text of Scripture, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

In the Second month, 1727, I proceeded on a voyage to Barbadoes, on account of business, for the support of my family, and in order to discharge my just debts, which were occasioned by great losses by sea and land. Many of my friends were kind to me, and sent a cargo of goods, in the sloop "John," Anthony Peel, master, consigned to me for sales and returns. When the vessel was loaded, she proceeded down the river, and I went by land to Salem, and was at meeting there on First day, and on Third day went on board the sloop at Elsenborough. On the eighth of the Second month, we took in our boats and anchors, and proceeded to sea. From Elsenborough and the Capes, I wrote to my wife, giving her an account how it was with me, and encouraged her to bear my absence with patience: it was indeed very hard for us to part.

I may not omit taking notice of an exercise which I felt one night as I lay on my bed in Philadelphia, on the 21st of the First month, my sleep being taken from me, which I recollected and wrote down on board the aforesaid vessel, and was in this manner:

"That the Lord was angry with the people of Phi-

ladelphia and Pennsylvania, because of the great sins and wickedness which were committed by the inhabitants in public-houses and elsewhere. That the Lord was angry with the magistrates also, because they use not their power as they might do, in order to suppress wickedness; and do not, so much as they ought, put the laws already made into execution against profaneness and immorality: and the Lord is angry with the representatives of the people of the land, because they take not so much care as they ought to do to suppress vice and wickedness, and wicked houses, in which our youth are grossly corrupted: and also the Lord is angry with many of the better sort of the people, because they seek after and love the things of this world, more than the things of his kingdom. It was shown me that the anger of the Most High would still be against us, until there was a greater reformation in these things." It is worthy of commendation, that our governor, Thomas Lloyd, sometimes in the evening, before he went to rest, used to go in person to public-houses, and order the people he found there to their own houses, till at length he was instrumental to promote better order, and did, in a great measure, suppress vice and immorality in the city.

For some days after we were at sea, the weather was pleasant, and we had our health, for which my heart was truly thankful. I exhorted the sailors against swearing; and though they had been much used to it, they left it off, so that it was rare to hear

any of them swear; for which reformation, so far, I was glad. I lent and gave them several good books, which they read, and showed much respect to me; but soon after the wind was contrary for some days, and some in the vessel were quarrelsome. I asked them what they thought of the saying of Christ, "If a man smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also;" at which they were silent, and of a better disposition to one another afterwards, and we had some reformation both from fighting and swearing. During this voyage I was not so sea-sick as I formerly had been, which I took as a peculiar favor from heaven. About the latitude of twenty degrees north, we met with calms and contrary winds, which were very hard for some in the vessel to bear, they putting themselves much out of temper about it. For my part, I had been used to disappointments, and therefore did not so much mind it. I spent pretty much of my time in reading and writing, and God being gracious, it was, in the main, a comfortable time to me; and I enjoyed my health as well as ever I did at sea in my life, for which I often breathed forth inward thanks to the Almighty. On the fifth of the Third month we arrived at Barbadoes, and I was lovingly received by our friends, but came to a very low market for my goods.

I visited Friends' meetings on the island, and had several open meetings at Bridgetown, and Speightstown, and likewise at Pumpkin-hill, and the Spring. On the day of Pentecost, so called, we had a meeting



at Bridgetown, in which was shown the work and operation of God's spirit on the old world, and under the law; and the everlasting duration and operation of the same Holy Spirit under the gospel dispensation, which Christ said should abide forever. At the Quarterly Meeting at Speight's-town, were Judge Allen, and the captain of a man-of-war stationed there, with several others not of our Society. I was much drawn forth in this meeting to speak of the power of the Father, Son, and the Spirit, opening to the people how we had been misrepresented in respect to our belief in the Trinity, or the holy Three, which bear record in heaven, the Father, Word, and Spirit, which three are one; for that it was clear and plain we are more orthodox in our belief in the Deity, than those who do not believe in the operation of the Holy Ghost; as also that none could be true Christians without it. It was queried, how could they be clear in their belief in the holy Trinity, or the Three that bear record in heaven, who believe the Holy Spirit has ceased his operations, gifts, or immediate revelations, and if ceased, when, and where, to whom, and how? The people were very sober and attentive, and stayed some time after the meeting was done, and divers expressed their satisfaction with what was said. My good friend Peter Sharp, of Maryland, was with me at this meeting, on whose account some of the people came. He had good service in the meeting, and I was glad of his company in this island, where we joyfully met and parted in the love of Christ.

At this meeting we had each of us a certificate from Friends, signifying their unity with our conversation and services. The last meeting I had at Barbadoes was at Speight's-town, on a First day. It was a solid, good meeting, in which I took my leave of Friends there, and exhorted them to believe in and hear Christ, he being a teacher that could not be removed from them, as men often were; and though they were but few, they were desired to meet in Christ's name; and I had to show them the difference between us and other Christian professors, who hold no public worship, if there be no outward teacher: whereas, if but two or three meet in the name of Christ, he has promised to be in the midst of them; and he is the best teacher we can have.

On the 14th of the Fourth month we set sail from this island, and for the most part, had fair weather and fair winds, and saw several ships, but spoke with none.

I was one evening leaning over the side of the vessel, being very lonesome, and having little conversation with any in the vessel, for divers reasons, I turned from all outward things to the Lord, and was glad to feel his presence and goodness, which was a comfort to me in my lonesome state; and as my travels and concerns had called and caused me to be much on the seas, it also pleased my good and gracious God, to support me thereon many times, in trials, temptations, and exercises; for all which, I bow in awful reverence before him, and return thanksgiving and praise to his great name.

The 1st of the Fifth month, about noon, we came to the Capes of Delaware, and sailed up the bay ; but in a little time, we touched the ground with our vessel several times ; there being little wind, we got no harm ; but two hours after, or thereabouts, a gust, or storm of wind took us, which, if it had met with us on the shoals where we struck, in all likelihood we must have perished ; which I took to be a remarkable deliverance. Next tide we got to Newcastle, and it being First day, I had a meeting with Friends there, with which we were greatly refreshed in the Lord, and in one another. After meeting I went on board the sloop, and having a fair wind, we sailed for Philadelphia, where we arrived about the eleventh hour, lodged that night at Paul Preston's, and next day went home to my family at Frankford, where my wife, children, and servants received me with much rejoicing.

While I was in Barbadoes, P. M., who accompanied me from Bridgetown to counsellor Weeks', told me, that when I was in the island before, he and I had some discourse concerning the use of the sword ; he, then not being of our Society, wore a sword, but now had left it off, and his business also, which was worth some hundreds a year. I had reminded him of Christ's words, that "Those who take the sword, shall perish with the sword." "Resist not evil, and if a man smite thee on one cheek, turn the other also ; love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, pray for them who despitefully use you, and persecute

you." After I had used these arguments, he asked me, if one came to kill me, would I not rather kill than be killed? I told him, no; so far as I knew my own heart, I had rather be killed than kill. He said that was strange, and desired to know what reason I could give for it. I told him, that I being innocent, if I were killed in my body, my soul might be happy; but if I killed him, he dying in his wickedness, would consequently be unhappy; and if I were killed, he might live to repent; but if I killed him, he would have no time to repent; so that if he killed me, I should have much the better, both in respect to myself and to him. This discourse had made so much impression, and so affected him, that he said he could not but often remember it. And when we parted at Bridgetown, we embraced each other in open arms of Christian love, far from that which would hurt or destroy.

After I had been at home some time, I visited the meetings at Philadelphia, Burlington, and Germantown; in which places I had service of divers kinds, and was lovingly received by Friends and others.

In the Fifth month, Joshua Fielding and John Oxley had a large and satisfactory meeting at Frankford. Joshua came from London on a religious visit to America, and having been on divers islands, he landed on the main at South Carolina, and from thence travelled through the wilderness four hundred miles, or more, where no public Friend had ever travelled before: the journey was perilous, but the Lord was with him; who may, in his own time, make way

for his servants in those desert places. John Oxley came on the same account from Barbadoes, and had good service among Friends in his public ministry.

In this month we thinking it convenient to send our little children to school, and not having a school-master of our Society near us, concluded to put our son and daughter under the care of Nathaniel Walton, to whom I thought it my duty to write a few lines about the salutations and language I would have them trained up in, which were on this wise:

“FRANKFORD, 30th of *Fifth month*, 1727.

“LOVING FRIEND, NATHANIEL WALTON, — I hope thou wilt excuse the freedom which I take with thee, in writing this on account of my children, in these particulars, viz.: Respecting the compliment of the hat and courtesying, the practice thereof being against my professed principle: First, because I find nothing like it in the Bible; but, as I think, the contrary. Thou knowest the passage of the three children of God, who stood covered before a mighty monarch; and Mordecai, who could not bow to great Haman: Second, I believe those practices derived from vain, proud man. And as to language, I desire my children may not be permitted to use the plural language to a single person; but I pray thee to learn them to say thee, and thou, and thy, and to speak it properly, many using it improperly, and the rather I desire it, because it is all along used in the divine, inspired, holy writings. I suppose thou art not a stranger to

its rise, being from the grandeur and apostasy of the Romish Church; and also, that *you*, to a single person, is not consonant to the book of God, or the true rules of grammar. I know it is generally objected, that the end of speech is to be understood; but it is understood better in and according to the language of God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost, in the Bible, and the language of kings, and all people, as we read it in the holy Scriptures; why then should we be ashamed of it, or shun it, and bring in and uphold a custom contrary to it? The same care I would have thee take about the names of the days and months, which are derived from the names of the gods of the heathen, and are not found in the Bible. I suppose I have the mind of all those of our Society in the above, it being consonant to our principle and profession, and I write in a motion of divine love to all.

“As to the school learning of my children, I leave it to thy management, not questioning thy ability therein; and if they want correction, spare not the rod.

“I hope thou wilt observe this direction in teaching my children, in which thou wilt oblige thy assured friend,

THOMAS CHALKLEY.”

The latter end of the Fifth, and the beginning of the Sixth months, the weather was exceedingly hot, so that several people died suddenly of the heat, as it was supposed.

The beginning of the Sixth month, I was at the Youths' Meeting at Abington, which was large, and

open to many; and I not having been there since I came from sea, divers expressed their gladness to see me; and we were that day favored with some showers, both celestial and elementary, to our comfort.

In the same month I was also at the Youths' Meeting in Philadelphia; it had been a sickly time, but many had recovered. That passage opened on my mind, to speak of in the meeting, concerning the lepers whom Christ cleansed and healed, being ten in number, and that but one came to return thanks to God, for being healed and restored to health. Friends were exhorted to prize their health, and to show their thankfulness to God the giver of it, by fearing and serving him, and taking heed to Christ, the Word, in their hearts. The meeting was in a good, solid frame, and we praised the Lord together, and gave him thanks for his merciful visitation.

About this time I heard of the death of our king, George I., a prince whom I loved and honored; which news was very sorrowful to me on divers accounts; his love and kindness to our Society was well worthy of our grateful remembrance.

On a Third day, being our week-day meeting at Frankford, Elizabeth Whartnaby and Mary Smith were there; it was a comfortable opportunity: they were two nights at my house. Elizabeth was preparing to leave this land for Barbadoes and Europe, intending a religious visit to Friends.

The 20th of the Sixth month, going into my closet, I there met with a paper of my son-in-law, Isaac

Brown's, and finding the contents were religious, as I had done of several of his late writings, I found it on my mind to write to him after this manner :

“MY DEAR SON, ISAAC, — By several writings of thine, of late, I perceive that a good thing is at work in thy mind, the which I pray the all-wise and infinite Being to promote in thy heart, to thy eternal salvation, and his glory. I now begin to be in some hopes that my prayers and tears for thee, in the Lord's time, may be answered ; and I do believe, if thou keepest low in thy mind, that God will more and more visit thee. The advice of David to his son Solomon, when he also gave him the kingdom, comes before my mind to give thee : ‘ My son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind ; for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts ; if thou seek him, he will be found of thee : but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever.’ Dear Isaac, this was counsel from one of the greatest and best of kings, to a wise young prince who petitioned the Almighty for divine wisdom, before riches, or honor, or long life ; which petition so pleased God, that he answered his request, and over and above, blessed him in an extraordinary manner.

“I perceive thou art inclined to read pretty much ; I pray thee, that thy chief study in books may be the holy Scriptures. Let all other books, though of use, and good in their places, be subservient to them ; for



their authority, of all other writings, to the true believers in Christ, is most divine; they having a supernatural spring and divine evidence in them to virtuous and pious readers. Thou, my son, wilt much comfort the heart of thy tender mother, and of me thy loving and careful father, if thou followest and perseverest in the ways of virtue and truth; which, that thou mayest, is the prayer of thy affectionate father-in-law,

THOMAS CHALKLEY."

The latter end of the Sixth month I went to the General Meeting of ministers and elders for the east part of New Jersey, and to the Quarterly and Youths' Meeting at Burlington, and to a General Meeting at Stony-brook, and to the Quarterly Meeting of the county of Bucks. John Oxley, of Barbadoes, and Joshua Fielding, of London, were at divers of those meetings; wherein we had open, seasonable opportunities; and I had a large, affecting account from Joshua, of his long and difficult travels in the service of Truth to the West India isles, and thence to South Carolina, from whence he came through the wilderness, by land, through North Carolina, Virginia, etc., to this province.

The 16th of the Seventh month began our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, which was attended with the gracious presence of God, to the comfort and great satisfaction of many souls. In this meeting divers young men and young women appeared, who were lately come forth in the ministry, and as I believe,

had received a measure of the gift of Christ's gospel; which was cause of rejoicing to the faithful among us, and excited our thanksgiving and praises to the Almighty Lord of heaven and earth.

At this meeting we had the company of four ministers from Great Britain, and one from Barbadoes, and many from divers other parts, it being a very large gathering of some thousands of people, as was believed, in which many were strengthened in their faith in Christ, and comforted through the power of the Holy Ghost, that blessed Comforter, which Christ promised to his Church, who should be with them for ever, and guide them into all truth.

Next First day after the Yearly Meeting, I, with several of my neighbors, went over Delaware to a meeting up Pensawken creek; in which the wonderful love of God was declared, in sending his Son upon earth, who, as he was man, died for man, and is now by his spirit present with all those that truly believe in him; he being the messenger of the covenant of God to mankind. On Second day, the 25th of the Seventh month, I had the sorrowful tidings of the death of my beloved friend James Lord, who on his death-bed desired that I might be sent for to his burial. In the consideration of that Christian love which was between us, I think I may truly note, that we were always glad to meet each other; therefore the thoughts of this so sudden change and final parting, brought for the present a sadness and heaviness over my mind; considering his station in that neigh-

borhood, and service in that congregation to which he did belong; for therein he was well beloved, and very serviceable.

And, oh! the loss that his dear wife and tender children will have of him, really affects me with sorrow in penning these notes; but the sorrow, in these things, is all on our side; for he, without doubt, is at rest with his great Master in heaven. We had a larger meeting at his funeral than ever was known to be there before, as an ancient Friend told me, which was solemn and serviceable to many.

Some time after, having been at divers meetings about home, John Oxley and I, in company, visited Friends on Long Island. At Flushing we were at the burial of Jonathan Dickinson: many people of divers persuasions were at the meeting on that occasion, and were very sober and attentive. I was at the Yearly Meeting for the south side of the island, at a place called Sequetague, which meeting was large, many Friends and others coming to it over the Plains. I was afterwards at the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, which held three days, and was very large, and the last day the people were very still. Joshua Fielding was at this meeting, and was therein concerned to preach the gospel of Christ with good authority, and matter suitable to a true gospel minister; John Oxley was ill of a fever, so that he could not be there; but there were brethren from divers parts, and the power and presence of the Most High were with and among us; blessed be his name.

I was also at Rahway river, where was a solid, good meeting. From thence I returned home, having been abroad about a month, and at above twenty meetings, and travelled above three hundred and fifty miles.

In the Eighth month, at Frankford, we had three burials out of one house, at one time; the mother, daughter, and grand-daughter, of which I had never known the like instance before. On this occasion we had the company of many neighbors, and a very solemn meeting at our meeting-house at Frankford.

About this time I was at meetings at Philadelphia, Abington, and Burlington: we had an evening meeting at Burlington, with Richard Smith, jr., who had been so ill that he could not get out to meetings for some months: it was such a satisfactory meeting, that he and I, and others who were there, will not easily forget it, our hearts being broken together.

The world still continued to frown upon me; but though this was the case, yet at times I had great consolation in Christ; and in the midst of my troubles, when I looked back, I could truly say that I had not been extravagant, but frugal; not covetous, but charitable; not idle, but industrious; not willing to be such an infidel as not to take care for my family. This was some solid comfort to my mind; and I bless the Almighty, that I always preferred his work and service to my own, and therein had great peace. This I can also say, if it were the last I should say, that I never wilfully, or knowingly, wronged any man,

woman, or child, since I came to years of discretion ; and yet I have nothing to boast of ; it is the Lord's grace and mercy which saveth us.

Having occasion to make another voyage to Barbadoes, I wrote to the teacher of my children as followeth :

“ FRANKFORD, 10th of Tenth month, 1727.

“ LOVING FRIEND, — Being about to embark for Barbadoes, I leave the charge of my little children to thy care, not doubting thy management of them, by their growing in their learning. Please to instruct them to sobriety and the fear of God, and faith in Christ ; and if I should never see them nor thee any more, our lives being uncertain in this world, pray let them know that it was their father's will and desire that they should mind their learning, and above all things, mind the fear of the Most High. When my little daughter hath read her testament through, I would have her go to writing ; and George the same, on the same terms. Please to learn them the use of chapter and verse, that if any ask them where they are learning, they may tell. And, kind friend, inas-much as I perceive thou hast followed my former directions, I look on myself obliged to thee ; therefore am so much the more free to impart my mind to thee now on my departure ; which, with real love, is from thy loving friend, THOMAS CHALKLEY.”

“ P. S. Although my care is great for my children's learning their books, yet it is much more so as to their learning true piety and virtue.”

## CHAPTER IX.

1727-1730.

Repeated Voyages to the West Indies — Religious Labors there and at Home — Ministerial Labor in Philadelphia — Narrow Escape from Death — Care to banish Swearing and Drunkenness from his Ship — Condemnation of Dancing — Concern respecting the Youth — Loud Call to Consistency of Conduct — Stormy Voyage — Services about Home — Terrible Hurricane in Barbadoes — Providential Deliverances.

ON the 25th of the Tenth month we set sail from Philadelphia in the sloop "Dove," Oswald Peel, master; having taken a solemn farewell of my dear wife, children, and friends, in order for the support of my family, and answering my just debts, which I had contracted. On the 27th day of the month, in the evening, we took in our boat and put to sea; had some rough weather in our passage, but lived comfortably; we being all loving and obliging one to another. On the 15th of the Eleventh month, we safely arrived at Speight's-town, in Barbadoes; and the 18th, between the hours of five and six in the morning, we felt the greatest earthquake that I had ever felt; having been sensible of three, one at London, one at Jamaica, and one at Frankford, in Pennsylvania. I was thankful in my heart to the Lord

for my safe arrival, and that we were all preserved safe in our stormy passage, and deeply-loaded vessel; one vessel being lost that came out a little time before us; and another, which came from our port to this island a few days sooner than we, lost three men by the violence of the storm, and received much damage otherwise; one of them being a neighbor of mine, with whom I was well acquainted, it affected my mind very much. I visited Friends' meetings in Barbadoes, and some divers times over; and had occasion in some meetings to mention the earthquake, which I told them I did believe was a visitation from the Almighty in order to put people in mind of mortality, and to reform them from the evil of their ways, and call them to repentance.

While I was in Barbadoes, Francis Gamble died, whom I went to visit several times in his sickness: at his funeral was a large gathering of his neighbors and others; and divers, not of our Society, expressed their satisfaction with the meeting. The people in and about Speight's-town, in Barbadoes, were very loving and kind to me, more than I ever had observed before; even some vile, profane men, whom I could not forbear to reprove for their swearing, and taking the sacred name in vain, yet they showed respect, notwithstanding I reprov'd them sharply. Who can take the sacred name of God into their mouths in vain, and be guiltless? or who can hear it, and forbear reprov'ing it, without being remiss in their duty? This great evil is too frequently practised in this rich

(poor) island of Barbadoes ; rich in earthly, but poor in heavenly treasure, which caused me many times to mourn in secret before the Almighty, praying him for the reformation of the people, for Christ's sake, and for the glory of his own eternal name.

The 27th of the First month, 1728, having done my business in Barbadoes, and seen Friends generally, an opportunity offered for my return home, in the brigantine "Sarah and Mary," Samuel Gallop, master, bound for Burlington, in company with William Dury and William Callender, both of Barbadoes. Our master was exceedingly kind to us in the voyage. The wind hanging northerly, we could not go to windward, but drove to leeward, and sailed by the isles of Lucia, Martinico, Dominica, Guadaloupe, Antigua, Montserrat, Rodondo, Nevis, Christopher's, Eustatius, Saba, Martin's, Anguilla, Bartholomew's, Sombrero, and four other small islands, which are called the Saints. It was very pleasant sailing by these islands, only some of them were so exceedingly high, that in some places we were becalmed, and the clouds appeared below the tops of the mountains. At Christopher's, which is counted the highest of them, there being a small river of good fresh water, we sent our boat on shore for some, having none very good on board : we lay off and on about two hours, but did not come to. I was thankful for this water, it being my constant drink ; it was also very serviceable to the people on board. After we left the isle of Sombrero, we saw a sail, which we thought stood



after us, and hearing at Christopher's that several Spanish privateers were on that coast, our master, and some others on board, were a little surprised; but we soon left her out of sight, and we afterwards went pleasantly on our way, till we came to the latitude of Bermuda, where the winds blew fresh, and much against us; and this winter having been very hard, we felt the sharp blasts of the latter end of it. We had a passage of about thirty days, and came very pleasantly up the bay and river; and it pleased God that I got home once more to my beloved wife and children, and was joyfully received by all my family, whom I found in a good degree of health; for which I did, as I had occasion to do, bless and praise the great name of the Most High, who is worthy forever.

After I came home I was at many meetings in Pennsylvania and Jersey, viz.: at Philadelphia, Burlington, Bristol, Byberry, Frankford, Germantown, New Hanover, Crosswicks, etc., in all which meetings I had some service to Friends' satisfaction, and was comforted with the goodness of God in the midst of my afflictions. My business lying much at Burlington, I spent pretty much of my time there for several weeks; where my friends manifested a tender and hearty respect towards me, and sympathized with me in my troubles and travels; and there I prepared for another voyage; for I was fully resolved, through divine assistance, to pay all my just debts, which I contracted, and lay on me, through many losses, or

else to die in the pursuit of it; in which resolve I had inward peace and satisfaction; though such labor, travel, and separation from my family, was a great cross to nature.

On the 14th of the Fifth month we went on board the brigantine "Sarah and Mary," Samuel Gallop, master, for Barbadoes; and on the 16th we sailed down the bay and put to sea, and I wrote a loving, tender letter to my wife and family, and another to my friends at Burlington. We had fair winds for about two weeks, after which they were contrary for several days, during which two of our men had a fever, and our vessel proved leaky, though tight in smooth water, which was some concern to us, and obliged us to pump every half hour; but the leak being much the same while at sea, we were the more easy about it: I took care of those two people that were sick, who soon recovered. The 3d and 4th days of the Sixth month it was very windy, with lightning, thunder, and rain; in which rough weather one of our best sailors put his shoulder out of joint, and they brought him to me to see if I could do him any service. I was not forward to meddle; but the man and the people believing if I would undertake for him, I might help him; I told them that, though I did not understand bone-setting, I would instruct them the best I could; then I ordered him to sit down upon the deck, and to be stripped to the waist, and got a round piece of wood as thick as his arm, and wrapped a piece of cloth about it, that it might

not bruise his flesh, and put it under his arm, and ordered two men, one at each end of it, to lift up strongly, and a third man to stretch his arm out, and keep it down withal; which being done, the bone went into its place; for which I was thankful in my heart to the Almighty. About the 10th of the Sixth month we safely arrived at Speight's-town, in Barbadoes, being the First day of the week. From whence I had an opportunity, by Alexander Seaton, master of a vessel bound to Pennsylvania, to send an account of our safe arrival.

I had many meetings in the island, and made several visits to sick persons, one of which was particularly to the satisfaction of the person visited and his relations: he died, and was buried at Hethcott's bay, and we had a large meeting at our meeting-house, where were many people, and it was a good, seasonable opportunity; in which I had occasion to remind them of their mortality, and press them to a holy life, the way to a happy immortality. I had divers meetings at Bridgetown, Speight's-town, and the Spring; where the testimony of Christ's gospel was well received. After a stay of three weeks, I left Barbadoes on the 1st of the Seventh month, and took my passage in the "Amity," Charles Hargrave, master, who was very friendly to me in my passage, as were all on board. We arrived at our port without casting anchor in all our voyage, and laid the vessel to the wharf at Philadelphia; and on my landing, I immediately went into the meeting of ministers and

elders, it being just meeting-time, where we were much comforted together in Christ; after which I went home, being lovingly received by my wife and family, having been from home about ten weeks.

After I came home from this voyage, I visited the meetings of Friends at Philadelphia, Frankford, Germantown, the Falls of Delaware, Burlington, New Hanover, Mount Holly, Fairhill, etc.

The 2d of the Ninth month I was at the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, where I met with Joseph Taylor, a Friend who had visited our meetings pretty generally on the continent of America, in the ministry of the gospel, and was now on his return homewards; with whose visit Friends had good unity, and certified the same to our brethren of the meeting where he lived in Great Britain.

After this I was at divers meetings in Pennsylvania and Jersey; and the latter end of the Ninth month, Sarah, the wife of Jeremiah Elfreth, died very suddenly; having been the day before walking in her garden: she was a sober young woman, and her death was much lamented. Her burial occasioned my stay at Philadelphia, which I had shunned, because a concern had been on me for some time, to declare to the people of that city, that the Lord was angry with the legislators of Pennsylvania, because they were not so much concerned to promote religion and piety, as they ought, and to make such laws as might prevent the excessive increase of public-houses, which often

prove seminaries of Satan; but strove to promote parties more than religion: and that the Lord was angry with the magistrates, because they did not so much as they might, and ought, to put those good and wholesome laws in execution, which were already made, against vice and immorality; and that the Lord was angry with some of the better sort of people, because they seek and mind the things of this world, more than the things of God and his kingdom. But I was helped to clear myself in the morning meeting to the satisfaction of many of the honest-hearted, and unburden my mind of a great exercise that I had long laid under.

In the afternoon we had a large meeting at the Bank meeting-house, occasioned by the aforesaid burial; the resurrection of the dead was declared in that meeting, according to the doctrine of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, the great author of the Christian religion, and also of the eminent apostle, Paul; and the old and false calumny, that our Society denied the resurrection of the dead, was publicly denied and refuted. The people were exhorted to live well, that they might die well; and then they need not doubt, but that they would rise well at the resurrection in the last day. The meeting concluded with praise to the Almighty for all his mercies, and prayer to him that he would sanctify that day's service to the people.

In the Tenth month I prepared for another voyage to the island of Barbadoes, and had the ship "Bristol

Hope" consigned to me, but the winter setting in sooner than common, caused our stay much longer than we expected, whereby I had the opportunity to visit divers meetings, as Burlington, the Falls of Delaware, Neshaminy, Wright's town, and Philadelphia. In this city a concern was on my mind to declare to the people, that the Almighty had showed me, that he had often visited those in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania with his own hand, and with his rod; but if that did not work the designed end for which he visited them, of which they were told also before it came to pass, he then would chastise them with the rod of man, and this was as plainly spoken to me in my own habitation, as if it had been the voice of man, though it was not vocal.

The 12th of the Eleventh month, being First day, I was at Horsham meeting, and had a tender, bowing time therein; and in my way home visited some Friends who were sick, it being a time of general visitation in those parts; and the next Seventh day I was at the meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, where we had a good meeting. Here I was earnestly desired to be at the funeral of Edmond Orpwood, the eldest Friend belonging to Frankford meeting; but was in a strait, this Friend being my neighbor, and I had before engaged to be at the burial of one with whom I had been acquainted nearly forty years. I did my endeavor to be at both, being each of them buried in the afternoon, and five miles distant; the days being short also, divers told me it was imprac-

ticable. I told them they might be mistaken, as they were; for though we had a large meeting, and the company of Rowland Wilson, from Britain, who had large and good service therein, yet after meeting we mounted, and got to Philadelphia about a quarter of an hour after the corpse was brought into the meeting-house, as I was informed. We had a large, and as I thought, a good meeting; after which I went home, being weary in my body, but thankful in my heart, that the Almighty had been with us, and helped us to perform that day's service.

On the 20th of the Eleventh month, and Second day of the week, I went into a piece of ground, which I was clearing for meadow, in order to give directions to the workmen; one of the trees fell contrary to the kerf, and also to the wind, which was then at north-west, and when I saw it falling towards me, I ran from it, but before I could get out of the way, it fell upon me, across my back, from my shoulder to my hips, and struck me down to the earth, where for some time I lay speechless, and in all likelihood I should have been immediately killed, if I had not been providentially preserved by the body of the falling tree laying on a stump, which prevented its crushing me, as I lay on the ground. A Friend who was near me, with a horse, desired the wood-cutters; when they were recovered from the surprise, and I to the use of my speech, to help me on his horse, and I rode home, but in extreme misery, and I was under great concern, lest I should surprise my wife and children

suddenly. We sent to Philadelphia for Dr. Griffith Owen, who came in about two hours, and let me blood, and ordered several things to be applied and taken, which through divine favor proved very serviceable to me; notwithstanding which, I was in great pain many days, and the nights were long and tedious, not being able either to feed myself, or to turn in my bed, for a great while. In this confinement I was at times favored with a very comfortable sense of the presence of God, whose providence is over all his works; and as his love to me was great, so the love of his people was also, many of whom, and of my neighbors, came to see me, sympathizing with me in my distress; but among them I had one of Job's comforters, who wickedly abused me in this low state. I can scarcely forbear mentioning his name, having example for it in holy Writ, but through the Lord's help, I will put on charity.

The 9th of the Twelfth month I got abroad the first time to our meeting at Frankford, with which divers expressed their gladness to see me there again. In this meeting I exhorted them to think on eternity, and to prepare for it, by living to-day as though they were to die to-morrow; for I found it by experience to be needful, and then if sudden death comes, it will not surprise us.

As I now found it my business to go to sea for a livelihood, I undertook the charge of the ship "New Bristol Hope," as master, though it was a way of living to which I did not incline. I took care in our



vessel that there should be no swearing in my hearing, nor drunkenness, to my knowledge, without reproof; and if I could not be instrumental in that way to break them from swearing and drinking to excess, my manner was, to put them away, so that we generally had a pretty quiet ship. We left Philadelphia the 13th of the Twelfth month, but storms and contrary winds detained us in the river and bay, so that we did not get out to sea till the 21st of said month, when the pilot left us, by whom I wrote to my wife and family. And now I thought I felt the benefit of the good wishes of my beloved friends whom I had left behind, which did me a great deal of good, as it often hath done on the like occasion; for faithful friends and good Christians are as epistles written in one another's hearts. In our passage we took several dolphins, which were very welcome to us, we having a long passage, and our fresh provisions being nearly spent. The 19th of the First month we saw the island of Barbadoes, having had several meetings on board the ship in this voyage: of the good effects I could see but little, only for that day they would be a little more sober, and some of them, addicted to swearing, did not swear so often as they did before. The day following we safely arrived at Speight's-town, where we had the next day a very comfortable meeting for the worship of God. The Fifth day following I was at Bridgetown, at their week-day meeting; and next First day, being the 30th of the month, I was at a meeting at Pumpkin-hill, where I was enlarged on the doctrine of faith.

After this I went to the Bridge with a Friend from New England; we had two good meetings, it being the General Meeting for the Friends of the island; and afterwards with several Friends, I went again to Speight's-town, and on the 12th of the Second month I was at the Thicket meeting, at which were Counsellor Weeks, Colonel Charnock, and Justice Sims. I dined with them at Judge Weeks', and they discoursed of what was said in the meeting about dancing, I quoting Luther's words, "That as many paces as the person takes in the dance, so many paces or steps they take towards hell." I told them I had heard that several had used that vain exercise in our meeting-house, which was appointed for the worship of God; and said I hoped for the future it would be so no more; two of those persons who danced in our meeting-house, were then in the meeting, though I did not know it. This testimony so wrought on the colonel, that he said he could scarcely feel his legs since I spoke it; and the justice said if these words were true, he had taken many steps towards hell; and the counsellor and judge said it was home doctrine to some who were there: divers of them seemed to be touched with the testimony of truth, though not so solidly as I desired. Soon after, I went with Joshua Birch to visit the governor of the island, Colonel Worsley, who treated us with much freedom and civility; he desired me to sit down by him, and then called for a decanter of wine, of which he kindly offered me a glass, but I told him I chiefly drank water; he said water is cer-

tainly the best drink in the world, and told me I was a credit to my drink, as I looked as well, or better, than most who drank wine.

In the Second month I was at meeting on a First day at Bridgetown, which was somewhat larger than usual; it was a good open time in the morning, but more so in the afternoon. At this meeting there was a merchant of the town, not of our profession, who sent to know if our friends would make a contribution for me, in consideration of my losses. He said he would contribute as much as any, although he had heard me only that one time; but he was informed that we received no money or pay for our preaching; yet his good will I acknowledged.

The 4th of the Third month I was at meeting at the Spring, where I met with Joseph Gamble, and John Oxley and his wife, and several others not belonging to this particular meeting, and we were edified together in the love and life of Christ. I was concerned to speak of the divers visitations and speakings of God to the people since the world began; quoting the words of holy Writ, that "God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spoke to the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things:" and that this dispensation is the last and brightest dispensation of all, and is the greatest and most glorious manifestation of God's love to mankind; and that beside this vocal speaking of Christ, when in the body on earth, he now speaks spiritually: which

spiritual speaking of Christ, in and to the true church and true believers, will outlast time, and endure to all eternity ; the great Lord of all, for his unspeakable benefit therein, was praised and glorified, as being alone worthy.

I had other meetings on the island, which I pass by, not being willing to be prolix. After a stay of about nine weeks, we proposed sailing. Judge Gray, a very noted man, and much esteemed among the people, took passage with us ; also Joshua Birch, of Bridgetown, for his health, and William Callender, and several others, as merchants. Though I came on account of trade, our friends gave me a certificate that I had good service among them, and in my outward affairs had gained esteem among the people, as well as in my service in preaching Christ ; all which I acknowledge to be the effects of divine grace. Several Friends and acquaintance came to the sea-shore at Speight's-town and in a great deal of tender Christian love and good desires, we took leave, and committed one another to the protection of the Almighty. We had a comfortable passage, and arrived at Philadelphia, where I was lovingly received by my wife and friends.

In this voyage a great and weighty concern came on my mind, on account of the young and rising generation, desiring that they might be happy in this world, and in that which is to come. And first, as to this world, I have taken notice that divers of the youth are too apt to waste their outward substance,

which is given to them, for when they get it themselves, they are for the most part more saving of it, and this wasting and spending, they call generosity, liberality, good nature, gentility, fine breeding, and abundance of other fine names; not considering the labor and industry, frugality, care and watchings, of their parents or ancestors, to get what they have. May parents note this well, and not be anxiously concerned to get much wealth, which may be a means to ruin their posterity; and truly most of these spending, drinking, company-keeping, gaming, chatting, tippling youngsters, take a great deal more care how they may get money from others, that they may spend it, than how to earn it, or faithfully labor for it themselves. They will beg, or borrow, or run in debt, but take little or no solid thought to pay; by which means divers of those topping, beggarly beaus and spenders, have brought both themselves and relations, parents and friends, to shame and disgrace, and sometimes to poverty, where their relations and parents have been too liberal. Let all indulgent parents note this also.

And if any concerned person should advise those inconsiderate youths of their evils, it is much if they gain not their lasting ill will, and the epithets of niggards and covetous, ill-natured, censorious, sour, morose, etc. However, I shall venture to stand the shock of their displeasure, and in as moving terms as I can, consistently with the matter on my mind, entreat them to consider the end of their spending,

slothful life, which if continued in, must needs end in their ruin, and they may repent when it is too late, crying out, Oh ! that I had hearkened to the advice of my father and my indulgent mother ! Oh ! that I had taken the counsel of my good friends in time, then I had not been in this condition, nor in those straits I am now in. This, or worse, must at last inevitably be the condition of those unthinking, time-wasting, money-spending, and evil company-keeping, young people of both sexes. Some of whom, if they can get it, will spend more in a few hours, than their parents can get in so many days, which is very unreasonable, as well as unthinking ; for if the indulgent parents do not hold their hands, truly they must all sink together ; and where the parents have been what these youths call liberal, whole families have by such liberality been undone, which is a case to be lamented.

I pray our spending youths to consider, how many brave, fine young men and women, whose parents have left them estates and handsome incomes, have by such extravagances soon spent all, and sometimes more than all, and disgrace and a jail have been their portion ; and how many, by living too fast have died too soon, much sooner than might be expected according to the course of nature.

Wherefore, I would advise them to regard what the wise king Solomon said, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways, and be wise ; she gathereth her food in the summer ;" *i. e.*, she prepares against the winter. Though this may be despicable

in the eyes of our fine gentlemen and wits, yet there appears more wisdom in these little industrious animals, than in those great spenders, who in the spring and summer of their years, take so little thought of saving what hath been with so much care gotten for them, or of getting more against their winter or old age; which, if they live, will certainly overtake them, when their youth or summer is gone.

But many youths object against this advice, crying out, as I have often heard, "The aged give this advice when they are old, but did as we do when they were young as we are." Although this may be true in some, yet it will not hold good in the general; and if it does in some, is not that maxim good, "Let others' harms learn us to beware, before it be too late, that we fall not into the same snare, which hath entangled or caught thousands, to their great shame and reproach?" Again, those who have been so overtaken in their youth, and are escaped out of the snare, are more fit to caution or advise how to escape it, or to show those paths which lead them into that labyrinth of woe and misery.

The author of all evil useth his utmost skill and power to promote the practice of excessive drinking, etc., among mankind, it being a mighty support to his kingdom; for when the nobility of the understanding is clouded thereby, then, oh! how many wicked oaths, what corrupt language, what unhand-some, unbecoming words and actions, are brought forth! How is the sober, chaste soul offended, and

above all other considerations, how is God dishonored, and the end of our creation frustrated, and man condemned!

When people are in those excesses, how do they take the sacred name in vain, and so bring themselves in guilty before God and man; for he has positively said he will not hold those guiltless who take his name in vain; so that let him plead ever so many excuses, he is pronounced guilty by the Judge of heaven and earth: therefore, let me persuade the youth to remember what the Lord by his servants said concerning drinking to excess: "Woe to the drunkards;" and that "no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom." Again, "Woe to them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink," etc. If it be objected, as it often is, when such poor souls are reproved, and their sins set in order before them; we trust in the mercy of God and the merits of Christ; I say this is a good trust and hope, if upon a good foundation; but the wicked must forsake their ways, and the unrighteous their evil thoughts; but what forsaking is that, when strong conviction is upon the soul, to make covenants, vows, and promises, and break them from time to time? And though Christ hath satisfied the justice of the Almighty for sinners, it is for those who forsake their sins, not for those who plead for the practice of them, and endeavor, by many vain excuses, to justify themselves in them.

Since then the salvation of the soul is precious, and



hath cost the precious blood of the Lamb of God, and is much more precious than health or wealth, why should any be so cruel and hard-hearted to themselves as, for a little vanity, mirth, toys, trifles, vain sports, and evil pastime, to plunge and sink themselves into the gulf of eternal woe and misery; pray, oh! pray consider it, dear youth.

After my return from Barbadoes in the Fourth month, I visited Friends' meetings at Burlington, the Falls of Delaware, Abington, Germantown, and was divers times at Philadelphia and Frankford; which meetings were much to my satisfaction; the Lord being pleased to manifest his goodness to many, as also to my poor exercised soul; for which I was truly thankful unto him.

In the Sixth month I was at the General Meeting of Friends at Darby, in Chester county, which was a large and good meeting, divers Friends appearing there in a lively ministry. About this time, some thousands of people came from Ireland, and also many from Holland; among whom, it was reported, were Romans, or Papists, several of whom, it was said, gave out threatening speeches, which caused some consternation among the people.

At this large General Meeting, I exhorted them to trust in the Lord, and not to distrust that hand which had hitherto preserved us by his providence without outward force; and that though the people who came among us were many in number, yet we having the Lord on our side, were more than they, in a mystical

sense; putting them in remembrance of the prophet, who, when his servant was afraid, prayed to the Almighty to open his eyes, and when they were opened, he saw the mountain full of chariots of fire, and horses of fire, and that they were more than their enemies. I was also concerned to exhort Friends to be good examples to those strangers who came among us in such great numbers; and that our lights in our conversations, might so shine, that those people seeing our good works, might glorify our Father which is in heaven, according to the doctrine of Christ; and then we should do them good, and they would do us no hurt, but good also. But on the other hand, if we keep not our places, and do not live in the fear of God, nor according to our holy principles and profession, then it might be just with the Lord God, to make them a scourge to us. Many were comforted in this meeting, and God was praised, who is worthy.

On the 15th of the Sixth month, having loaded the ship "New Bristol Hope" a second time, I sailed in her from Philadelphia, and having a concern to visit the meeting of Friends at Salem, I left the ship at Gloucester, under the care of the pilot, and went by land to the First-day meeting at Salem, and from thence to Elsenborough, and stayed till the ship came down; and on the 20th of the month we got to sea, and had a fair wind for several days, and lived very lovingly on board, being respectfully treated by my sailors.

In this voyage we had several meetings on board,

the first of which was at the request of my second mate, to call the sailors together in the cabin ; I not being forward to propose it to them, lest they should suspect me of some vanity, in desiring to preach to them ; they not knowing the cross of Christ in that exercise.

On the 24th day of the Seventh month, at noon, our ship by observation, being exactly in the latitude of Barbadoes, we steered away west for the island, and on the 26th we saw it, five weeks and one day after leaving sight of Cape Henlopen ; we having, after the first few days, light winds, calms, and head winds, which made our passage long, and our sea-stores almost spent ; but now the sight of land made the people forget all uneasiness, and for this favor, my heart was thankful to the great Preserver of men.

This time we came to a tolerable market with our provisions, which made our stay short ; yet I was divers times at Bridge meeting of Friends, as also at Speight's-town, where my concerns chiefly lay ; and once at Pumpkin-hill meeting, in which it was observed to the people, that the salvation of the soul is precious, and that true religion is a solid thing, a thing of the greatest moment to both body and soul, and that people ought to be very serious and solidly concerned about it, taking special care to lay, or build, their religion on a sure foundation. It was showed them, that Christ Jesus is the sure rock and foundation of all the righteous, in all ages ; that he was the Rock that followed Israel, which they drank

of; and that any other foundation than him, no man can lay; who is, in the truly religious, and the true believers, the hope of their glory. Many other precious truths were manifested to us in that meeting, for which we praised the Lord.

Soon after I went to Bridgetown to clear out the vessel, and was at their week-day meeting; the subject-matter I had to treat of in that meeting, was that "The Lord bringeth low, and he raiseth up again;" and that in divers respects, as to kingdoms, families, and particular persons; and as to health, wealth, honor, etc., divers in that meeting were appealed to as witnesses of it. After this meeting I went to visit the governor, who was courteous to me, and took my visit kindly, and desired to be remembered to our governor and several others, and wished me a prosperous voyage, and well back again, which he hoped would be in about three months; he said, "Whoever lived to see it, Pennsylvania would be the metropolis of America, in some hundreds of years." He said "He loved downright honest men, but he hated deceit and hypocrisy."

The 21st of the Eighth month, 1729, we having done our business, weighed anchor and went to sea; and on the 26th we had a good meeting with the ship's company, for the service and worship of God; in which the gospel of Christ was declared without partiality, and the reigning sins of sailors openly exposed, according to the doctrine of the gospel, and the most high Lord entreated to carry on in the

earth the great work of reformation. Hitherto we have had fine, pleasant weather.

The beginning of the Ninth month we had a very blustering, stormy time for many days, so that we could not carry sail, but sometimes lay by, and sometimes went with a reefed mainsail and foresail; the ship had such a violent motion, that it broke our glasses and about a dozen bottles of wine, and our earthenware, and strained our hogsheads and casks, so that we pumped out molasses into the sea, and beat us back many leagues, and blew our sails out of the bolt-ropes.

After those storms we had a calm, and the wind sprung up westerly; our course being north-west, or thereabouts, we could barely lay it; yet it being moderate, we had cause to be thankful.

The 12th of the Ninth month we found ourselves in the latitude of thirty-six degrees, seventeen minutes, north; but the wind was ahead, and our fresh stock of provisions almost expended, and winter coming on apace, the nights dark and long, made it seem tedious to our people; the which I was helped to bear with patience.

The 14th day, about eight o'clock at night, John Plasket, one of the best of our sailors, through the violent pitching of the ship, fell into the sea from off the bowsprit; one of the sailors seeing him fall, nimbly threw a rope to him, which he caught hold of, and the people helped him into the ship; though in all probability he had perished in the sea, if he had

missed taking hold of the rope. I was thankful to the Almighty for this young man's life, and took it as a great favor from heaven. The next day it was dreadfully stormy, the wind blew violently at southwest, with lightning, thunder, and much rain; the seas ran so high, and the ship had such a great motion, that the goods, or casks, shifted in the hold, and we lay by till next day; our sails also were much torn, and in many places blown out of the bolt-ropes, so that we were half a day mending them, and then proceeded on our voyage home, where we arrived the latter end of the month.

After I came home from this voyage, during the small stay I made on shore, I was divers times at meetings at Philadelphia and Frankford, and also at Germantown, at the burial of our ancient friend Dennis Conrad, who was one of the first settlers of this town, as I understood the first meeting of Friends, for worship, was kept at his house; he was a man of an inoffensive life, much given to hospitality, and left a good report behind him. The meeting was large, and many of the first settlers of the country were there. I was also at the burial of Catharine, the daughter of Thomas Lightfoot, and wife of James Miller, a worthy woman, who died soon after their arrival from Ireland, and was buried from our great meeting-house in Philadelphia, in a decent and exemplary manner.

The latter end of the Tenth month, Samuel Harrison, of New York, and Obadiah Lawrence, of Long

Island, favored me with their company all night at our house, where we called the family together, and had a seasonable time to take leave, they of me, and I of them, and my family also; and the next day divers very dear friends came with me to the boat, to the river-side, to take leave, and we parted with hearts full of love and good will to each other.

I went on board at Wiccacoe, and had a cold passage down the river and bay, and left the Capes the 1st of the Eleventh month, being the third voyage as master, and the 17th we passed the tropic of Cancer. Hitherto we had a comfortable passage, and though we had a crowded ship, yet we had peace and quietness to a greater degree than I expected; for men that use the seas are too generally inconstant as the winds and waters they pass through. We had several meetings on board the vessel, and were at sea about four weeks before we arrived at Barbadoes, where the markets were dull, which occasioned our staying about twelve weeks.

During this time I had divers religious and good opportunities, with those of our own and other societies, I believe to general satisfaction; having the good wishes of people of all ranks, from the governor to the poor negroes; all of whom I profess to love for Christ's sake.

In our return home we had a full ship and upwards of thirty passengers, and were on our passage about a month, and had good comfortable weather therein.

Soon after I came home from Barbadoes in the

Third month, 1730, I went to a meeting at Burlington, at which Thomas Evans was married; Margaret Preston was also there. It was a good meeting. I crossed the river Delaware twice, visited a sick person, and rode thirty miles that day. I also went to the Falls meeting, and after it, appointed another at Neshaminy the same day. I went with Joseph Kirkbride to William Paxton's, and lodged, and next morning Joseph Kirkbride rode with me home, and thence to Philadelphia. I was divers times at Philadelphia, Frankford, and Germantown, and at the General Meeting at Frankford, where our friend John Cadwallader was married; Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, and Margaret his wife, and John Oxley, were at this meeting, with many other Friends, a good share of whose company I had at my house, of which I was glad, ever loving and coveting the company of good men and women.

I was now preparing for the fourth voyage, as master of the "New Bristol Hope," for Barbadoes; but it grew harder and harder for me to leave my family, which, for many considerations, was very exercising; yet I was obliged to continue going to sea, upon an honorable account; *i. e.*, that no person might suffer by me, if I could help it; and having got our vessel loaded, we sailed from Philadelphia the 9th of the Fifth month. Next day came to anchor at Chester, and visited my old friend David Lloyd, who, with his good spouse Grace, treated me with tender, Christian love: the Judge and I being old acquaintances, and both of us in years, and he not well, we took



leave as if we were not to see one another any more, which happened accordingly, for he died before I returned.

We weighed anchor at Chester, and got down to Elsenborough, and went to Salem meeting, with some of our passengers and sailors, it being the First day of the week and 12th of the month. The meeting was pretty large, and I was earnestly concerned for their welfare, as I had often been when I was absent, and was glad I was with them that day.

After this meeting we proceeded on our voyage, and left the Capes the 15th of the aforesaid month; had small and contrary winds, and sometimes calms, until the 2d of the Sixth month; and First day of the week, when the wind was at south, and a hard gale, the sea high, and the ship having a great motion, we had not a meeting as usual: many of the passengers were very sea-sick. For my part, I thought if the Almighty was but with me, that would make up for all difficulties; for in him was, and is, my life and chiefest joy; and as an answer of peace in my tossed condition, I sometimes had comfortable times; being inwardly refreshed with the love and presence of God; not only in the day, but also in the night, in my sleep; out of which I was awakened one morning with these comfortable words, "He took me to his banqueting-house, and his banner over me was love." These expressions were so fresh in my mind for some days, that I could not forbear but bless the holy name of the living Lord secretly in my soul.

The 16th of the Sixth month we arrived at Bar-

badoes. The 17th there arose about midnight a hard gale of wind, which the Barbadians call a hurricane, or tornado, and blew more than ten vessels ashore, great and small, which were wholly lost; and our ship was very near the rocks, people looking every minute when she would come on shore: but through divine favor we escaped, with only the boat stove against the rocks. I would have got on board, but that was impracticable; but I got on the highest place I could, from which I could see them in the ship, and they me on shore; but we could not, for the violence of the wind, hear one another; yet they were so near the fort where I stood, that I could discern them one from another, and they me from the multitude of people, many being in the fort with me. I seeing the chief mate look towards me, waved my hat towards him, and he in answer, his to me; then I made a signal to him to go to sea, which they immediately did, letting slip their cables and went to sea, without either boat, anchor, or cables, and came in the next day, and got their cables and anchors again, to the great joy of many of the inhabitants, whose hearty prayers were for our safety, as many of them told me. This among many others, I put in my calendar of deliverances and preservations from imminent dangers, by the hand of divine Providence.

We stayed this time in Barbadoes about five weeks, leaving the island the 27th of the Seventh month; and there I met with Robert Jordan, my friend and brother in the work and fellowship of the gospel of

Christ, who took his passage with us for Philadelphia, whose company was pleasant and comfortable.

The 4th of the Eighth month we met with a hard gale of wind, which broke the tiller of our rudder, and split our bowsprit and mainsail, and overset many of our chests; Robert Jordan narrowly missed his chest falling on him from one side of the ship to the other, which escape we looked upon as a merciful providence, and spoke of it to one another.

In this passage we saw three vessels only; it was a blustering time, but the shortest from land to land that ever I had, being but fourteen days and fourteen hours from the sight of Barbadoes to the sight of the mainland: we arrived at Philadelphia the 16th of the Eighth month.

In the Ninth month I proceeded on a fifth voyage to Barbadoes, as master, and went down the river Delaware on a Seventh day, and on First day was at Chester meeting, at which time there was a burial of a child, and a large meeting. Our friends at Chester were glad to see me, and I them; and after meeting we set sail and went down the river to Elsenborough, where we came to and landed Robert Worthington, whose son Ezra was on board, and went to Barbadoes for his health, being in a deep consumption.

We were on our passage about thirty-three days before we arrived at Barbadoes, when after doing my business, and visiting Friends' meetings about five weeks, we put to sea on the 10th of the Twelfth month, and sailed along to the leeward of several islands, till we came to Anguilla, where we landed in

expectation to get salt, but at this time there was not any to be had there. We came to an anchor here in the night, hoping to get to a harbor before it was dark; but it soon being very dark, and coming into shoal water, we saw a large rock, and came to by the side of it, in about five or six fathom water, taking it to be a ship, and when it was day we saw our mistake, and that instead of a vessel, we were too nigh a rock, and the wind coming about, tailed our ship towards it, so near that we were sensible of touching twice; I ordered the men to heave a little further ahead, and so we lay clear till morning. When morning came, of which we were glad, several boats with a cable came to us, and the people advised us to put a spring on our cable and cut it, that she might cast the right way; which accordingly we did, and it had the desired effect; so that we soon got into a very fine harbor, it being about a mile off. Thanks were given to the Almighty by many of the people, for this deliverance. George Leonard, the governor of the island, heard in the morning, that a vessel was on the rocks, and the people were running with saws and axes, in order to break her up, if she could not be got off: the governor seeing them, sent a lieutenant with orders that, let her belong to what nation soever, they should help to get her off, if it could be, and if she was likely to be made a wreck, he charged them at their peril not to meddle with her, nor anything belonging to her, until they had first come to terms with the master; which is worthy to be recorded.

We stayed several days before we could get our anchor ; for after we were in the harbor, it blew very hard for four or five days ; so that with our four oars we could not row our boat ahead, but watching for a calm one night, our people went out and got it, and then we went into the principal road or harbor in the island, called Croaker's bay. The name of that we came from was Rendezvous bay, where lived a very kind friend of ours, named John Rumney, who, with his wife and family, treated us with great love, and courteously received us into their house, and he went with me to the governor's, who was my old acquaintance and friend, who with much love and tenderness, when he knew me, took me in his arms and embraced me, saluted me with a kiss of charity, and thanked God for our deliverance, and that he had lived to see me once more, I having been there some years before : he was seventy odd years of age, as I remember, and had more than eighty who called him father ; the people living much on roots and pulse, are very healthy in this island. I was here nine days, and had seven meetings with the people ; the longer I stayed the larger the meetings were ; so that I had some difficulty to leave them. Through the grace and gift of God I was helped to preach the gospel of Christ freely, and they received it both freely and thankfully, divers, if not all ; for their hearts and mine were very open one to another, the Lord's holy name be praised forever.

## CHAPTER X.

1731-1734.

Continued Voyaging — Small-Pox in Philadelphia — Hurricane in Barbadoes — Storms at Sea — Troubles from Ice — Religious Labors about Home — Concealed Sorrow — Heavy Gales — Need for Patience — First Friends' Meeting in Christopher's — Insurrection of Negroes in St. John's — Death of Thomas Chalkley's Son George — George's Character and last Sickness — Voyage to Ireland — Return Home.

THE 3d of the First month Ezra Worthington died, and the 4th in the afternoon, he was buried on the plantation of John Rumney, near his house; the governor and his son-in-law were at the burial, where I told them that he was an inoffensive, innocent, sober young man, and that death was to be the end of us here, putting them in mind to remember their latter end. After I had done speaking, the governor said that death was a debt due to nature, and that we must all pay it, and blessed is the man who in time truly prepares for it. This was a good expression for a man in his post, and worthy of my notice, as I thought.

I was at one meeting, where were the governor and his daughter, with divers of the best and soberest people of this island: it was a satisfactory meeting,

which ended in prayer; and when I arose from my knees, I found the governor on one side and his daughter on the other side of me, both on their knees; a posture in which people are too seldom found in this degenerate age of the world.

On the 10th of the First month we departed from the island of Anguilla, with a pleasant gale, and had fair weather and winds for several days. I spent some time of this voyage in reading, and met with a passage concerning friendship. The comfort and beauty of it was set forth therein, yet most who treat upon that noble subject, place the felicity thereof in humanity; whereas true and lasting friendship is of a divine nature, and can never be firmly settled without divine grace. Christ Jesus is the prime friend of mankind, from whom all true and lasting friendship flows, as from a living fountain, himself being the head spring thereof. "Henceforth," says he, "I call you not servants, but friends, and ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." And again, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." Oh, holy expressions! much to be admired, and worthy every man and woman's imitation and practice. Observe that when they had done whatsoever Christ had commanded them, then they were to be his friends, and they were not only to be his friends, but one another's friends, as he was theirs; and if occasion were, as he died for them, so they would die for one another. By this mark and true seal of the truest friendship,

all the world should know they belonged to Christ, that they were united to him, and in him united to one another. Nothing but disobedience and sin can ever separate this friendship.

Against this friendship which is in Christ, and grounded and founded upon him, the gates of hell can never prevail; but all friendship founded upon any consideration merely human, is brittle and uncertain, and subject to change or mutability, as experience hath taught in all ages.

If any person has a desire to have a faithful friend, let that person be sure to make choice of Christ; for such as choose him have a friend in whom are lasting peace, comfort, and delight, joy and pleasure, and in him alone are they to be enjoyed forever.

The 20th of the First month being the first of the week, we had a comfortable meeting for divine worship, in which the goodness of God was extended to us as we were rolling on the mighty waters of the great deep, after which we had pleasant weather and a fair wind for several days.

On the 26th the wind sprung up at E. N. E., a hard gale, which lasted several days; for about thirty hours it blew so hard that we could dress no victuals. I thought on the words of Job, when he spoke to his impatient wife, saying, "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil also?" or that which is accounted or looks like evil in the eyes of man. In this time of exercise, the love and heavenly life of God, in his beloved Son, filled my heart,



and caused an overflowing of praises to his holy, glorious, and blessed name. Oh! it was exceedingly precious to my soul at that time.

The 1st of the Second month we saw land, being driven to the southward nearly two hundred and fifty miles in this last hard weather; but we soon after arrived at our desired port.

I visited the meetings of Friends at Philadelphia, Burlington, the Falls, Abington, Germantown, Bristol, and Frankford, and found the people had been under a general visitation of the small-pox, insomuch that many hundreds, especially of children, were taken off the stage of this life, in the city of Philadelphia; and I was concerned to exhort Friends in that city to bring their children to meetings, and to educate them when young, in the way they should go, that they might not depart from it when old; and that He who had taken many away, could, if he pleased, take many more; for though he had laid down his rod at present, the distemper in the city being much abated, yet he could soon take it up again. It is my belief that the Lord Almighty will still continue to visit the city and people, if there is not a reformation, with further, if not sorer visitations, because he hath known them to do them good, and make them a blessing to many islands and people; giving them the fatness of the earth, and that which is far more, the dew of heaven; so that he may justly say to us, as to Israel of old, "You have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit you for all your iniquities."

In the beginning of the Fourth month, Robert Jordan was married to Mary, the widow of Richard Hill, all three worthy Friends. The meeting on this occasion was large, and the marriage solemnized in the fear of God. Divers Friends were concerned to speak to the people, and it was greatly desired that those present, who were then spoken to, might be married to Christ, the great lover of souls, who laid down his life, the most precious life that ever was on earth, and shed his precious blood for our salvation.

A few days after, I again took shipping for the island of Barbadoes, being the sixth voyage, in the "New Bristol Hope," and left the Capes of Delaware the 8th day of the Fourth month. The 22d of the month, being weary, I laid down to rest, and falling asleep, was awakened with these words, "Oh, heart in heaven! it is an excellent thing to have an heart in heaven!" These words were comfortable to me, and left a sweetness on my mind all the day after, for which I was thankful, and greatly desired that my heart might be set and fixed more and more on heaven and heavenly things, and that my treasure might be in heaven, that my heart might be there also, according to the doctrine of my Saviour: "Lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

The 27th being the First day of the week, we had a comfortable meeting, the weather being moderate; and on the 7th of the Fifth month we arrived at Bridgetown in Barbadoes, where we unloaded part

of our cargo, and from thence we went to Speight's-town; where, after a stay of about five weeks, we accomplished our affairs. I also visited all our Friends' meetings, and some several times, in which we were edified and comforted, and divers of us had occasion to bless the holy name of God for his mercy to us. Before we left the island, there happened a great storm or hurricane, which did much damage to the ships and to the island, blowing down many houses and spoiling much provisions, destroying almost all the plantain-trees on the island, which is a very wholesome and pleasant fruit, and much used by many instead of bread.

I was clearing out the vessel when this storm happened, and being twelve miles off, could not hear concerning her, but thought it altogether unlikely that she should ride out so great a storm, in so bad a harbor or road, it being open to the sea, and the storm such as had not been known for many years, and some said, never but once, to their knowledge, though more damage had at some other times been done to the shipping, by reason that the hardest of the wind was not that way, which was most dangerous to them in Carlisle bay, where they mostly lay; they all got out to sea, except two or three that were lost by the violence of the weather. It was indeed a very dismal time; the vessels which rode it out were much damaged, and one being loaded, ready to sail, sunk down, and was lost in the bay. When I had cleared our ship, I set forward in order to see what was become

of her; but the floods were so great, and the ways were so bad, I could not without some danger get to her that night; but next morning set out from Joseph Gamble's, and to my admiration, from the top of a hill on which a house was blown flat to the ground during the storm, I saw our ship at anchor, having rode out the storm, with one sloop by her, for which cause my soul was humbly thankful.

On the 17th of the said month, with some more than ordinary fatigue, we got up our anchor and took in our boat, and got our passengers and provisions on board, the sea breaking high on the shore, so that several of our people and our boat were in jeopardy of being lost; but at length we set sail, and having sailed slowly about six or seven miles, we met with a sloop which had lost her mast in the storm, and next morning met two large London ships, which had put out to sea, not venturing to ride it out.

We had fine pleasant weather for several days after we left the island, and on the 22d of the Sixth month, being the First day of the week, we had a meeting for the worship of God, which was comfortable and satisfactory to us. The 4th and 5th of the Seventh month, we had very fresh gales from the north-east to the north, and were near a water-spout about a stone's-throw off, which surprised some on board, on which I came out of my cabin, and saw the water run up out of the sea into the cloud, as plainly as ever I saw the water run into the river, till it filled the cloud with blackness, and then it would break

in great quantities into the sea, which is dangerous, when falling on vessels.

The 5th of the month being First day, we had a good religious meeting for divine worship, wherein our people were earnestly exhorted to a holy life, and to be earnestly concerned for the true faith, which is in Christ; that faith which works by love, which is the evidence of things not visibly seen, and is manifest by works of piety and virtue. In this voyage we were twenty-two days from the island of Barbadoes to the sight of Cape Henry, in Virginia, and had a pleasant passage, in the main, to Philadelphia, where, in the Seventh month, was held our Yearly Meeting, at which I had a desire to be, my watery employment having hindered my being at one for several years. At this meeting I met with my old acquaintance and dear friends, John Richardson, of Yorkshire, and Paul Johnson, of Dublin, both on a gospel visit to the brethren and Friends in America. The meeting was large, and attended with divine grace and goodness, and ended with thanksgiving and praise to God and the Lamb.

While our ship was loading, I was at meetings at Abington, Germantown, Fairhill, and Frankford, in Philadelphia county; and at the Falls of Delaware, Buckingham, Neshaminy, and Bristol, in Bucks county. I was also at Burlington, at the marriage of William Callender, Jr., of Barbadoes, with Catharine Smith, daughter of Daniel and Mary Smith, of Burlington.

On the 16th of the Ninth month, I proceeded on

the seventh voyage to Barbadoes, in the ship "New Bristol Hope," having on board several passengers, one of whom, Elizabeth Martindale, was convinced of the principles of truth on the passage, and afterwards suffered in divers respects, for making profession with us.

We had a long passage down the river, the wind being high and boisterous. On the 22d of the Ninth month we left the Capes of Delaware, and saw the island of Barbadoes on the 21st of the Tenth month, before it was day, and in the afternoon came to anchor in the bay of Speight's-town. In this voyage I met with a painful and troublesome accident, which happened in a hard gale of wind: I being to the windward, and the ship having a large motion, missed my hold, was canted from my place to the other side of the vessel, against the edge of a chest, and so bruised my leg that I could not do my business as usual, which was a great hinderance and disappointment to me. But in about a month's time, with the assistance of some of my friends there, I got indifferently through it, and also rode to Bridgetown and had several meetings there. I was also at several good and comfortable meetings at Speight's-town, where we had one the day we sailed, being the 21st of the Eleventh month; and on the sea-shore parted with our friends in great love, and set sail, the wind being north-east, so that we could weather the island of Martinico; we therefore sailed along by the islands of Dominico and Guadalupe, and had calms under the islands, and

sometimes the eddy winds from the mountains or high lands, would take the sails, and carry the ship round, which made it tedious. The 23d and 24th we passed by several islands, the winds and weather being fair and pleasant. The 25th in the evening, it began to be hazy ; and in the night we split our main-top-sail, which cost us a great deal of labor and loss of time, before we could get it mended and set again. We had pretty fair weather about twenty days, until we came on our own coast and into soundings, when a hard gale of easterly wind springing up and blowing on the shore, was dangerous, and we had a long night coming on ; but through the favor of the Almighty, we got off from the land. In the midst of the danger of this storm, my soul sung praises to the Lord.

The 12th of the Twelfth month we had another easterly storm, being in about thirty fathoms water ; it blew and rained very hard, and was exceedingly cold, and our coming from a hot climate made it more hard to bear. In this storm we saw the lights which the sailors call corposants, one of them was exceedingly bright, and sat about half an hour on our main-top-mast head, plain to the view of all the ship's company, divers of whom said they never saw the like, and I think I never heard of or saw the like before.

The storm continued all night till day, when it abated ; and it being the first of the week, we had a comfortable meeting, in which the people on board were advised to get divine and heavenly learning, and

not to be fools in religion, or in the things of God, nor to hate true knowledge; for if they had all the natural knowledge and brightest natural parts in the world, they would be but fools without the true fear of God, which the wise King Solomon says is the beginning of wisdom.

The 27th of the month we saw Cape Henlopen, having been twenty-seven days from the island of Barbadoes: this was a close, foggy day, we could see but very little before us, and had like to have been aground on the shoals, which they call the hen and chickens, but went between it and the Cape, in three fathom water; the wind blowing hard at south, we went up the bay by the lead, for we could not see land; and the gale being so fresh, we got to Bombay-hook from our Capes, in about six hours, which is accounted twenty leagues; where we came to anchor, and met with abundance of ice. Merciful was the deliverance and preservation we met with from the hand of the Almighty in this voyage; may we ever gratefully remember it! About a league above Bombay-hook, when the fog broke up, we found ourselves close on the Jersey shore; and the wind sprung up at north-west, and obliged us to come to an anchor; where the ice came down upon us, which surprised some of us much. Coming out of so hot a climate, into one so severely cold, had a bad effect on most of our ship's company. I had a sore fit of the phthisic, and was at times almost breathless, and thought I must die, for I could hardly breathe or speak; but yet



I resolved as long as I was capable of reflection, I would think of God and my beloved Jesus ; in which thoughts and meditations I found some comfort and consolation. I sat up for several nights, not being able to lie down for want of breath ; and drank sage tea, which was very helpful to me.

The next day the ice came down more and more upon us, and we feared to put back, because if we had gotten aground in the bay, the ice might have demolished us ; so we took the most convenient time we could, and got up our anchor with some difficulty, and stood for Reedy Island, one of the best harbors upon the Delaware ; but the wind and tide failing us, we could not get in ; and the ebb brought down the ice mightily on us, so that it took away the head of our vessel, and cut her sides very much. The next tide we got into the harbor, and lay close to Reedy Island, making the ship fast on shore. While we lay here, several vessels came to us and fastened on shore as we did. The ice drove one vessel on us, and broke our spritsail-yard. Here I went on shore, where the people were very kind to us, particularly the sheriff of the county, John Gooding, and his wife and family. I went also to the house of John M'Cool, who with his wife were very tender in their care and love towards me ; bathing my swelled and benumbed limbs until the frost was pretty well out of them. The good will and tender love and care I here met with, affect my mind in the noting of it : I pray the Most High, whom I love and serve, to be their rewarder.

I had two meetings at our meeting-house at George's creek, where were people of divers persuasions, who gave good attention. For these meetings I was truly thankful; for though through the extreme cold, I could hardly speak when on board, I now spoke freely, much to my admiration, and I believe to the people's satisfaction, more than is proper for me to mention; wherefore I praise God. When the weather was a little more open and the ice gone, we sailed up the river to Philadelphia, where I was joyfully received by my friends; and while the vessel was repairing and fitting for another voyage, I was not idle, but visited Friends' meetings at Philadelphia, Burlington, Abington, Germantown, Byberry, Fairhill, and Frankford; being sometimes at four or five meetings a week. I was also at Haddonfield and Evesham meetings, in West Jersey; both good and comfortable meetings, which will not easily be forgotten: for therein God was graciously pleased to visit us with his word; blessed be his name!

The 4th of the Third month we again set sail for Speight's-town, in Barbadoes; and the 6th of the month, about six o'clock in the morning, left the Capes of Delaware. From this time until we got sight of Barbadoes, was twenty-five days, which was the quickest voyage I ever had in this ship; in which time we had three meetings for the public worship of Almighty God, and to me they were beneficial; and for God's goodness, I could do no less than return praise to him, who alone is worthy forever.

After I had done my business at Barbadoes and visited Friends' meetings, on the 5th of the Fifth month I sailed for South Carolina, touched at the island of Christopher's, and landed some passengers there. From thence we went to sea, and the same night had a storm, though we suffered but little, the wind being for us, so that we went before it, and after it was over, we had a pleasant passage of about fourteen days to the coast of Carolina; and when we saw the land, the wind came against us, which made some of our passengers very uneasy; but in meditating on the infinite Being, I was favored with inward comfort and strong consolation, so that I was humbly thankful, and praised God.

We were prevented by contrary winds, and a strong current, from getting into Charleston; and while we were beating about the coast, we met with a vessel, which came from thence, and gave us intelligence that many people died suddenly, and that they buried ten or twelve in a day. Hearing such news, and the wind being still against us, our passengers, who intended for Carolina, concluded to go for Philadelphia: so we tacked about, and stood for Delaware bay, and then we had a fresh gale ahead again for several days, and spending so much time on the coast, our water was far expended, and we agreed to come to an allowance of it, a quart each man, for twenty-four hours, for several days before we got in. We were about five weeks on our passage from Barbadoes to Delaware river.

Soon after our arrival at Philadelphia, we got our ship on the ways, in order to refit and sheathe her, in which time I travelled into several counties, and had many religious meetings, in which I had good satisfaction; and my old acquaintance and friends said they rejoiced to see me again, after my sea-voyages. I was thankful in my heart for the good will of my good Master, and of my friends, in those journeys, which was, and I hope ever will be, better to me than choice silver or fine gold.

The winter setting in about a month sooner than usual, many vessels were detained from going to sea, and frozen up; and many vessels could not come from sea up the river, so that a great damp was put on trade, and the frost coming suddenly, many people were taken with colds and died, in both the provinces of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. My dear friend and kind landlord, Paul Preston, died about this time, who on his dying-bed, said, "He had no desire to live but to do good, and that it had been his care to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and to all men, which now was his comfort." The hard weather continuing, I found a concern on my mind to visit Friends' meetings in the county of Bucks, in Pennsylvania, and the county of Burlington, in West Jersey; and was at above twenty meetings in about twenty days. In this journey I was favored with the grace and goodness of the divine hand to a greater degree than I was worthy of, though I was sometimes exceedingly poor in my spirit, and in my own judg-

ment, very weak for service and labor, both in body and mind; our meetings, considering the severe season, were large, and I hope they were to general edification.

On the 25th of the Tenth month, being the reputed birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ, at a little town near the Falls, called Bordentown, we had a meeting, where none had been held before by Friends, in one of the houses newly built by Joseph Borden, the proprietor of the place: he entertained us lovingly at his house, and generously offered ground for a graveyard, and to build a meeting-house on, and a handsome sum of money towards building it, though he did not make profession with our Society. Some that were at this meeting, who did not profess with us, came over the creek on the ice to Isaac Horner's, in the evening, where we had a satisfactory meeting, in which God through Christ was glorified. Daniel Stanton, my wife's sister's son, accompanied me in this journey, whose company and ministry were acceptable, both to me and Friends, and we had meetings at the Falls, Bristol, Middletown, Wrightstown, Bordentown, Crosswicks, Mansfield, Upper and Lower Springfield, Mount Holly, Rancocas, Evesham, and Chester, and divers evening meetings at several Friends' houses. It being a sickly time, I was often sent for to visit the sick, in which visits we were comforted, and God's holy name was praised.

On the 18th of the Eleventh month I was sent for to Bristol, to visit Ennon Williams, who was danger-

ously ill, and to Burlington, to the burial of Elizabeth, the wife of Jonathan Wright, who was buried from the great meeting-house. The meeting was very large, she being well beloved by her neighbors and acquaintance, being a woman much given to hospitality, and indeed many of the Friends of Burlington have exceeded in that respect the most that I have ever observed in my travels. She was a pattern of piety, a loving, obliging wife, and a tender, careful mother, a kind neighbor, a loving and faithful friend, and so continued to the end; some of her dying words were, that she desired her love might be remembered to all her friends, which was done openly in the said meeting, and tenderly affected many.

After I came home I was at the marriage of William Parker and Elizabeth Gilbert, at which marriage was our worthy, ancient friend, John Richardson, with divers other European Friends. The meeting was large and edifying.

The river still continuing frozen up, I had a desire to visit my friends and brethren in Chester county, whom I had not seen for some years; and in order thereto, in the beginning of the Twelfth month, I with my kinsman, Daniel Stanton, set out from Philadelphia, and went to Newtown, where we had a meeting next day, being the first of the week, and afterwards an evening meeting at Evan Lewis's. From thence we went to the Monthly Meeting at Providence, on Third day to Middletown, Fourth day to Concord, Fifth day to Birmingham, Sixth day

to London Grove; after which we had an evening meeting at a widow's house; from thence we travelled on Seventh day to Nottingham, and were at a large meeting there on First day, and had an evening meeting at a Friend's house, where some persons came, who had never been at a meeting of Friends before. On Second day we had a meeting at Susquehanna ferry, to which divers people came over the ice, and it was a good opportunity to many of them. Third day we had a large meeting at West Nottingham, and in the evening at William Brown's, and next we had a large meeting at New Garden, and at Michael Lightfoot's house we met with two Friends from Ireland, Mungo Bewley and Samuel Stephens, who were now proceeding on their religious visit to Friends in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. From thence I went to visit my old friend and acquaintance, Ellis Lewis, who had a desire to see me; and we had an evening meeting in his chamber to our mutual comfort and refreshment. Next day we had a very large meeting in the meeting-house at Kennet; after which we went to Concord to the Quarterly Meeting for the county of Chester, and were at three meetings there, and likewise had three evening meetings at Friends' houses; at which meetings we had the company of my kinswoman Alice Alderson, and her companion Margaret Coupland, who were lately come from the north of England to visit Friends in this and the adjacent provinces.

We went on Third day to the General Meeting at

Providence, which was very large; Joshua Fielding and Ebenezer Large were there; and we had an evening meeting at Rebecca Minshall's; and next went to Chichester, where we had a larger meeting than I expected, considering the season; we lodged at John Salkeld's. On Fifth day we had a good, open meeting at Chester, and in the evening, another at Grace Lloyd's; next day had a meeting at Springfield, which I believe will be remembered by some that were there, when we do not see one another; afterwards we travelled to Philadelphia.

In the year 1732, arrived Thomas Penn, one of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, and son of the truly honorable William Penn, governor and proprietor of this province. A wise man, a good Christian, and a mild governor: a great promoter of piety and virtue, and of good men. May this his son walk in his steps!

In the First month was our General Spring Meeting, at which were several public Friends from England, viz.: John Richardson, Alice Alderson, and Margaret Coupland. The meeting was large and edifying, the said Friends having service therein to general satisfaction.

The 2d of the Second month I proceeded on a voyage to Barbadoes, it being the first in the "Snow" Barbadoes packet, a vessel built on purpose for me. We got to the Capes on the evening of the 20th of the Second month, and were obliged to come to anchor. On the 21st we put out to sea, but the wind being against us, and looking like windy weather, I concluded to come



to under our Cape, and wait for a fair wind: as soon as our "Snow" came to, we got our boat out and went to Lewistown; and next day being First day, had a meeting in the court-house; the people were glad of a meeting, and I had a good opportunity with them. After meeting I went on board and weighed anchor, and had a fair wind for above a week. Near the latitude of Bermuda, we had smart gales of wind, which obliged us to carry our topsail double-reefed; and after having been at sea twenty-seven days and one night, in which time we had several meetings, we saw the island of Barbadoes; though for the most part we had contrary winds, yet all was well, and God blessed, who is forever worthy.

The 20th of the Fourth month, having done my business, and also visited Friends' meetings, we sailed for Philadelphia; and on the 25th, being First day, we had a seasonable and serviceable meeting, wherein the Almighty was worshipped and praised, and the people exhorted to sobriety and temperance. We were about twenty days from Barbadoes to Philadelphia.

After having stayed at home about six weeks, and visited the meetings of Friends in divers places, to mine and their satisfaction, on the 28th of the Sixth month I proceeded on another voyage for the island of Barbadoes, and left sight of our Capes on the 31st. The winds were for the most part contrary, and before we got into the trade wind, we met with two hard gales; the last of which was a kind of hurricane, in which we could carry no sail at all, but let the

vessel lie to the mercy of the seas, or rather to the mercy of Him who made the seas and all that is therein, and in the earth also. In this storm we lost a square topmast, and divers other things belonging to the vessel; but all our people were well and safe. This voyage we had several comfortable religious meetings on board, in which we were exhorted to prepare for another and better world, this being so very uncertain and momentary, and full of various exercises, temptations, and afflictions.

I had on board three Whitehaven sailors, William Towerson, William Trimble, and William Atkinson, and I do not remember that I heard any of them swear an oath during the whole voyage, which I thought worthy to stand on record, because it is so rare in sea-faring men. About the beginning of the Eighth month, being in the latitude of Barbadoes, the thoughts of leaving my family and habitation, and many of my loving relations and near and dear friends, as at divers other times also, made me pensive and sorrowful; but it being on a principle of justice, and sometimes meeting with the presence and goodness of God, I was enabled to do my affairs and business, and forbore to appear sorrowful as much as I possibly could, or to be of a sad countenance in the sight of men; but to Him who knows all things, and sees in secret, I poured out my soul in all my afflictions, for He only is able to help me. I met with some who untruly censured me, as covetous of the things of this world, or to be rich; and that for the sake of these

outward things, I might venture my life, until I might lose it. As to my life, it hath long been my desire to be ready to resign it, and is so still; and as to those outward things, so far as I know, my heart is clear. Food and raiment, and to be clear and even with the world, having rather to give than receive, is all the grandeur I desire; and if that be not granted, I hope to be contented without it, and to be thankful. I look upon crowns and sceptres, and all the fine things of this world, but as trifles, and diminutive, in comparison of a house and kingdom eternal in the heavens. In this voyage, as usual, I read in the holy Scriptures, and met with strong consolation therein, especially in the New Testament; I also read much in the works of that eminent judge and good Christian, Matthew Hale.

On the 7th of the Eighth month we arrived at Barbadoes, stayed three weeks and one day, and had several religious meetings. I hastened to accomplish my affairs before winter, it being a time of the year when it is dangerous sailing on our coasts. On the 30th of the Eighth month we left the island of Barbadoes, bound to Philadelphia; and on the 11th of the Ninth month it pleased God to favor us with a gracious opportunity to worship him; wherein was declared to the ship's company the nature and advantage of good, and the Fountain from whence it flows; also the nature and disadvantage of evil; the one springing from God, and the other proceeding from Satan, or the devil, who is the root of all evil: and that men

might be left without excuse, God hath sent the divine and supernatural light of his holy Spirit, to show to mortals what is good and what is evil ; in order that they might embrace the good and refuse the evil.

The 21st of the Ninth month we had a very hard gale of wind at north-west, which blew so hard that we were obliged to lay the ship to the wind ; for by the violence thereof we could not carry any sail, and it was so dark that we could neither see stars nor one another, nor hear one another, without we were very near, the seas rising very high. Indeed, the long, stormy, and dark nights, were very dismal, and some of our goods got loose in the hold. In the beginning of the night, about the seventh hour, Philip Kearney, my apprentice, fell into the sea and was lost, which was a deep affliction to us.

The 25th we saw land, and next day came to anchor in Delaware bay. The loss of this lad was a cause that we were not so joyful as is usual for people to be when come to the shore.

The latter end of the Tenth month I went the third voyage, commander of the Barbadoes packet from Philadelphia, bound to Barbadoes : we were towed through the ice by two boats from Thomas Master's wharf, and in two days got to Reedy Island ; from whence we sailed down Delaware bay, where we lay two nights, the wind being contrary, and blowing hard. We left our Capes in the night, it being dangerous lying in the bay ; and after being out several days, had favorable winds and pleasant weather ; but when we got into

the trade wind, it blew hard and mostly against us. The first land we saw was the island of Christopher's, where we arrived in twenty days from our Capes; and the market for provisions being at that time better than any other of those islands, and the property of the vessel mostly belonging to me, and the cargo generally consigned to me, I disposed of part of it. Here being no meeting of our Society on this island, I had meetings on board the vessel in the harbor, and divers from the shore and several masters of vessels came to them, the Snow having large accommodations for such an occasion; and so far as I could understand, the people were generally satisfied.

Of late times, and also in this voyage, meeting with many losses and crosses, and much affliction and various exercises, I was ready to say in my heart, Lord, why am I thus afflicted, now in my declining years, since, thou knowest, I love thee above all things, and that I would not willingly or knowingly offend thee, my great and dear Lord? It was answered, as though vocally spoken, My only-begotten and beloved Son, who never offended me, suffered much more. This word being such an evident truth, I begged patience to go through all my sufferings and afflictions, so that at last I might live with Christ in the glorious kingdom of God forever, where I might always bless and praise his holy name.

Five or six days after our arrival at this island, a vessel that came out five or six days before us, arrived, she meeting with the same boisterous weather

as we did, yet we made our passage ten or eleven days sooner. Several other vessels bound to Barbadoes, put in here, through these contrary winds; and when I saw others in the like circumstances with us, I was the more thankful for being preserved safe, and so soon to this place; yet it was a considerable loss and trial not to get to Barbadoes, the island I was bound to.

At this island a person whose name was Galloway, a man of a great estate, hearing that I kept meetings on board the vessel, kindly invited me to have a meeting at his house, and said he would give notice of it to divers of the gentlemen, as he called them, of the island, telling me that I should be welcome to his house, which was much more convenient than the vessel. I was not very forward to accept of my friend Galloway's kind offer, being sensible of my own weakness and inward poverty, so that I made several excuses to evade it; but he obviated them all. First; I asked him, "If he could bear the reproach of having a Quakers' meeting at his house?" He answered, "Yes; there are good and bad of all societies." Secondly; I asked, "If his wife would like it, or be willing that a meeting should be in the house?" He said, "She desired it, and would be very willing." Thirdly; I asked, "If he thought he could sit in silence?" He told me, "He believed he could." I then told him, "I was obliged to him for his kind and friendly offer, and God willing, I intended to come, and tell my people of the ship's company to come also, and

desired him to give notice of it;" which he did: and there was a large, satisfactory meeting. Oh! may the Almighty sanctify it to some souls, is my desire.

He and his wife were very courteous to me, and invited many of his rich friends and relations. His wife's father was a judge in this island, of good repute. People of several professions were at this meeting, and many expressed their being glad of it. An attorney-at-law said, "He was thankful for the words he heard that day, and if I would stay with them, he would always come to our meetings." One Judge Mills was at this meeting, and very kindly invited me to his house. Some meeting me next day, said "They were sorry they were not there." The mistress of the house told some of the people, who were persons of note, "That they should remember what they had heard;" and spoke it with a religious concern, as it seemed to me. When I went to this meeting I was very poor, and in much fear, speaking with a great concern on my mind for the people's salvation, and that God, through Christ, might be glorified.

After this meeting it was as though a voice said unto me, "How dost thou know but for this cause, and for this meeting, thou art brought to this island, though against thy will?" The people told me they did not remember that there ever was a meeting of Friends before on this island. The meeting had this effect, that the people had a better opinion of our Society than they had before. The subject I spoke of was, the excellency of the gospel dispensation above

that of the law, in that it brought us to the law, went through the law, and was above the law, and so far from destroying the law, fulfilled it; for proof of which, they were referred to Christ's most excellent sermon, which he preached on the mount.

From the island of Christopher's, I purposed, God willing, for Barbadoes; which I apprehended would be a troublesome voyage, it being about one hundred leagues to windward, and a strong current against us. On the 19th of the Twelfth month we sailed towards Barbadoes; and the wind being ahead and blowing hard, we tarried two nights at the island of Lucia, where we took in wood and water: the people here are mostly French, and were very civil to us.

The 21st we put out again to sea; but the wind and current being against us, obliged us to go into the harbor from whence we came, and tarry for an opportunity more favorable. While we were in this harbor, which is a very good one, several vessels came in on the like occasion; and a vessel that left Christopher's about three hours after us, came here three days since we did.

We went out again in order to proceed to Barbadoes, but as before, the current was so strong against us, and the wind also, that we could not get forward on our way; wherefore we put back again to Christopher's, and by the way called at Antigua, where I had an open, satisfactory meeting, for which I was truly thankful, and so were some not of our



Society, of whom there were divers, and some who had not been at our meetings before.

The next day we arrived again at Christopher's, and there unloaded the remainder of our cargo, though much against my mind. After having sold the most of our cargo at Basseterre, we went to Sandy point, and there sold the remainder, and took in our loading for Philadelphia.

In loading our vessel, Judge Brown was my very good friend, and helpful to me therein, for which I think myself much obliged to him.

While we lay here I had a meeting on board our vessel, to which came five masters of vessels. It was a good meeting, though I spoke to them in much misery and pain, having very angry, painful sores on my legs, occasioned by a fall in getting out of the boat; the seas running high through the violence of the waves, I fell across the boat, and broke both my shins very grievously.

The 31st of the First month, 1734, we had another meeting on board our vessel, to which came several from other vessels, and some from the shore, among whom was a young baronet and his host, a tavern-keeper, who at first behaved airily, but after some time he was more sober, and seemed respectful at parting.

I was invited to have a meeting next First day on board the ship "King George," a large vessel; the master told me his cabin was large, and would accommodate many more than mine; but we did not stay so long as till the First day.

After this meeting was over, the master of the large ship came on board, and said he was sorry he had not come sooner, so as to have had the opportunity to be at the meeting.

From Christopher's we set sail for the island of Anguilla, and had a meeting at the governor's house on a First day. We stayed at Anguilla three days, and there took on board some bags of cotton on freight, and sailed from thence the 10th of the Second month. The governor of this island, whose name was George Leonard, told me that he should live and die in our principles, saying that he must defend his people. But he did not consider that his defence might destroy both him and them, and that such defence was directly contrary to Christ's doctrine and practice.

Not far from Anguilla is an island they call St. Jöhn's, the inhabitants of which are Dutch: the negroes there lately rose and took the island, killed the people, spoiled their plantations, and burnt their houses. I lodged at the house of a person who went to subdue those negroes, who were too strong for him and his company, and the negroes killed divers of them, and among them killed this man's two sons, for which their mother and sisters were in bitter mourning, when I was at their house. The thoughts of the bloodshed and vast destruction which war makes in the world, caused me to cry in my heart, "How long, O Lord! thou holy, just, and true God,

- will it be till nation lift up the sword no more against nation, and the people learn war no more."

When I came home from this voyage, which was the 30th of the Second month, I met with the sorrowful news of the death of my only son, George, a dear youth, who was but ten years and seven days old when he died, and as he was much beloved for the sweetness of his nature and disposition, so he was greatly lamented by many who were acquainted with him. I have this account to leave concerning him; not so much that he was my son, as to excite other youths to serve and fear the Lord, and to love him above all, and that they may remember their Creator in their youthful days, that it may be well with them in this world, and when time here to them shall be no more.

He was a lad much inclined to read the holy Scriptures and other good books, especially religious ones; and was always obliging, obedient, and loving to his parents, and ready and willing to do any service he could to his friends; any little services in his power he cheerfully performed and took delight in; he was very diligent and ready to go to religious meetings; and an entire lover of religious people. In his sickness he behaved himself more like a wise man than a youth of that age, bearing his pain and sickness with a great deal of patience. I being in another part of the world, he would gladly have seen me, but said he should never see me any more, and therefore desired his mother to remember his dear love to his

father, and tell him he was gone to his heavenly Father. He was very fervent in prayer in the time of his sickness, and prayed that God would preserve his people all the world over. One time, when in great misery and pain, he prayed to Christ, saying, "Sweet Jesus! blessed Jesus! give me patience to bear my misery and pain, for my misery is greater than I can well bear! Oh! come, sweet Jesus, why art thou so long coming? I had rather be with thee than in the finest place in all the world." Many other religious expressions he spoke on his death-bed, greatly to the satisfaction and melting of his friends and relations who came to see him. One day he said, "My misery and pain are very great, but what would it be if the wrath of God was in my soul?" He believing in the love of God in Christ, made him desirous of being with him, and seeing the joy that was set before him, thought the time long to be with Jesus, as knowing that then he would be out of all misery and pain. His heart was full of love to his relations, acquaintance, and friends, who came to see him in his illness; and full of tender sweetness and divine love, he took his last leave of them, which greatly affected many. This was one of the most pinching exercises I ever met with; but as he said in his illness, so I now write: The wisdom of the Lord is wonderful. One time in this dear child's sickness he said, "Oh! the good hand of the Lord help me, give me ease, and conduct me safely," *i. e.*, to God's kingdom, uttering this verse:

Sweet Jesus, give me ease, for mercy I do crave;  
And if thou 'lt give me ease, then mercy I shall have.

Although this was a great exercise and deep affliction to me, in losing this promising youth, and my only son, yet considering that he went off the stage of life like a solid, good Christian, it was made tolerably easy to me; for he departed this life in much brightness and sweetness, and more like an old Christian than a youth of ten years of age.

It was usual for me to advise his mother not to set her affections too much upon him, thinking he was too good to live long in this world, and too ripe for heaven, to stay long on earth, in this world of sorrow and misery. This dear and tender youth, when reading, to which he was much inclined, if he met with anything that affected him, either in the Sacred Writings or other good authors, would write it down, and get it by heart. He was more than common affectionately concerned for his mother, doing whatever he could freely and cheerfully to serve her, and told her not to do some things which he thought too much for her, saying, Mother, let me do it; if I were a man, thou should not do anything at all; meaning as to labor. She being affected with his filial love and care for her in his father's absence, it caused her sometimes to turn about and weep. I thought a little memorandum of the life and death of this religious lad was worthy of recording, in order to stir up other youth to obedience and love to their parents, who carefully and tenderly nourished and brought them

up; and also to love and obey God, from whom they have their life, breath, and being; and to believe in Christ, who died for them; who is the glorious light of all the nations of them that are saved, and walk therein, according to Sacred Writ.

He got several pieces by heart out of the Bible and other religious writings, first writing them with his pen.

One which much affected my mind, was the fifteenth verse of the fifty-seventh chapter of that evangelical prophet Isaiah: "For thus saith the high and lofty One, that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy, I dwell in the high and holy place; with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones."

I have now one only daughter, Rebecca, left me, out of twelve children, except my wife's son and daughter.

After this long and tedious voyage, which ended in the Second month, I stayed but a few weeks at home, and loaded with wheat and flour for Dublin, in Ireland; Alice Alderson, my kinswoman, and Margaret Coupland, were passengers. We had a very comfortable, pleasant passage, fair winds and weather, and good religious meetings. I think it was the most pleasant time that ever I crossed the seas. About Nantucket we saw several sloops whaling, and spoke with one, by which opportunity we inquired of the welfare of our friends on that island, and sent our

loves to them. Not many miles from the sloops we saw a shoal of whales; I counted eight in a row lying side by side in the water.

We were four weeks and six days from our Capes to Cape Clear, in Ireland: coming near the land, we met with fishing-boats, and got plenty of choice fresh fish; in the evening we got into Kinsale, took in a pilot for Dublin, and sailed next day from Kinsale, and were out one night at sea, got next day to Dublin bay, where we went ashore, and were kindly entertained by our friends. We were at several large meetings in that great city, which some of us, while we live, at times I believe, shall remember. My stay in Ireland was about seven weeks, in which time I visited several meetings in the country, and at Edenderry, the Moate of Greenough, Carlow, Ballytore, etc.

We set sail from Dublin with a fair wind, in company with the ship "Neptune," and our friends sent many prayers and good wishes after us. We were about forty persons, sailors, passengers, and servants, on board, and had a good passage, all things considered. We had religious meetings on board, and were on our passage, from the sight of Ireland to the sight of our land, five weeks and six days: it was the quickest voyage I ever made to Europe and back again to Philadelphia.

## CHAPTER XI.

1734-1737.

Voyage to the West Indies and Great Britain — Religious Services in Barbadoes and on Board Ship — Shot at — From Barbadoes to London — Debts all Paid — May Drummond — Religious Services in England — Return Home — Visit in New Jersey — Rise and Design of Meetings for Discipline — Meteors — Necessity of Preparation for Death — Travels in Long Island, New York, and New England — Reasons for Women Preaching — Return Home — Service near Home.

WHEN I came home, finding all well, I was thankful to God, in the name of Christ, for all his mercies and the many preservations wherewithal he had favored me.

After being a little at home and at several meetings, and not being clear of the world, in order to it, I undertook another voyage to Barbadoes, and from thence intending for London, in order to settle my affairs there, which I intended some years before, but losses and disappointments hindered me. On the 7th of the Tenth month I proceeded on a fifth voyage in the Barbadoes packet, and left Philadelphia, and was at a meeting the next day at Chester, being First day, and in the evening we had a large meeting at Grace Lloyd's, where I met with my dear friend, Joseph



Gill, who had good service in said meeting; we rejoiced in Christ to see each other. We left Chester the 9th, and got that tide down the river to Newcastle, and after visiting the few Friends there, we set sail the 12th in the morning; the wind being high, and the weather very sharp, freezing hard, our sails were so frozen that we had hard work to get the vessel under sail. The 13th day weighed anchor and sailed down the bay, and the 14th were clear of the Capes. The First day following we had a good, seasonable meeting for the worship and service of God; in which, as I was treating of disobedience to parents, and disobedience to Almighty God, our great Parent and heavenly Father, a youth who was a passenger in the vessel, went out hastily and abruptly, as I was showing the ungratefulness of the first, much more of the last. When I asked the reason of his going out, he said it was because he could not forbear crying; and thinking I spoke so because of him, he said he could not hear me any more. Afterwards I understood that he was a youth who was very ungrateful and disobedient to his parents; the which I knew not of, for his mother told me, and himself also, that he went to sea on account of his health. I thought his going out so hastily was occasioned by some indisposition of body; but it was, as he gave us to understand, through resenting illy what was spoken, and by taking it to himself. I have sometimes observed, that persons have shown a restlessness and uneasiness in public assemblies for worship, sometimes going out, etc.,

so that they have thereby exposed themselves to the notice of the people, as persons guilty of the matter publicly reprehended, or spoken against; just as though they were the only persons in the assembly who were guilty of the evil then taken notice of: such public restlessness is a great folly and weakness, besides so openly and publicly exposing themselves.

After we left our Capes, we had hard gales of wind, which lasted several days. The 28th being First day, we had a meeting for divine worship, in which God was praised and his holy name exalted, for his unspeakable grace, in sending his only-begotten Son, a divine light to enlighten the inhabitants of the world. We had stormy weather and contrary winds for some weeks, so that our passage was tedious; and of fifteen times going to Barbadoes, I found this the most difficult; and the prospect was very discouraging of making a losing voyage, by the great expense I expected for repairing and refitting the vessel, etc., so that I began to despair of accomplishing my design of discharging my debts in Great Britain, and the thoughts and consideration of losing so much of the company and conversation of my wife, relations, and friends, and spending so much precious time, which cannot be recalled, to so little purpose, lay heavy on my mind; yet by the grace of God my mind was supported, and my resolutions confirmed to praise the Almighty for every dispensation of his providence.

The 23d of the Eleventh month we saw the island of Barbadoes at the breaking of the day, having been

from the Capes of Delaware forty days and one night; and were truly thankful, that at last, we, through divine favor, got to our desired port; where we were lovingly received by our friends at Speight's-town, who were joyful at our arrival. From thence I went to Bridgetown, and to the governor's, in order to enter our vessel; but staying a little too late, the governor, who was the Lord Howe, was come from his house on his way to Bridgetown, with his coach and six, and his attendants; but seeing me, he courteously stopped his coach, and did my business as he sat therein; and though I made an essay towards an excuse, he would not admit of it, saying, "There is no need of any excuse." He was indeed an extraordinarily courteous man: he died soon after, much lamented, as he was much beloved.

My stay at Barbadoes this time was the longest I ever made, believing it to be the last time I should go there, and that I should see them no more. My so saying troubled some of them; but growing in years, being then turned of threescore, I thought it would be too hard for me to undertake such another voyage; therefore I was at all the meetings of our Friends on the island.

Here I met with Moses Aldridge, a Friend from New England, who came on a religious visit to Friends of this island, with whom we had divers good meetings, his service in preaching the gospel being edifying and acceptable; we were together at the marriage of Andrew Drury and Mary Lewis, after which I was ill

of a fever several days ; this distemper was very much among the people, and nearly twenty masters of vessels and some hundreds of people died. Though I had been at Barbadoes many times, I never had so much illness there before. Moses Aldridge and several Friends of us had a large meeting at John Gibson's, where were many people not of our persuasion, who were generally sober. I recommended charity to the people, according to the doctrine of the apostle Paul, as the most excellent gift, and advised them to show it forth to all people of all professions, and also to their negroes, telling them that some of the gentry of this island had observed to me, that the more kind they were to their slaves, the better their business was done for it. I observed also, that I had been at some places where I had watched to hear some expressions that might look like charity ; but in many houses, and some of note, I could not hear any Christian-like expressions to their slaves or negroes, and that with sorrow I had seen a great deal of tyranny and cruelty, the which I dissuaded them from. This doctrine so exasperated some, that they made a disturbance in the meeting : one of these persons meeting me on the king's highway, shot off his fowling-piece at me, being loaded with small shot, ten of which made marks on me, and several drew blood ; by which unfriendly action the man got a great deal of disgrace, it being highly resented by all who were acquainted with me. The president of the island looked on it as a very base action, as did also some

of the justices and the gentry, also the vestry and several clergymen and lawyers. One of the lawyers told me I should not be just to the country, myself, or the man, if I did not prosecute him; another professing the law, said he ought to be abandoned by all mankind if he shot at me with design; many were for prosecuting him, for the people generally took notice of it with abhorrence; but he sending for me, and signifying he would not do so again, I forgave him; and I pray it may not be laid to his charge in the great day, and that he may be forgiven, he being ignorant of the love I had and have for him and all men, even for those whom I know to be mine enemies. It would be too great a scandal and reproach to expose his name and station in the world. Some thought I did well in forgiving him, and some thought I did ill in it: but I spoke my mind to him alone freely, in which I had satisfaction and peace.

Intending my vessel for London, I made my chief mate, Ralph Loftus, master of her, not knowing whether I might proceed on the voyage, it being a very sickly time: afterwards my mate had the distemper also, but I bless God, we both recovered a good state of health.

It was during this voyage that my friends in Barbadoes published a little piece I wrote at sea, which I called "Free thoughts communicated to freethinkers;" done in order to promote thinking on the name and works of God; which had, as far as I understand, a good acceptance among the people. The principal

clergyman on the island thanked me for it, and said "There was need enough of it;" but I could be glad another, or a better hand, had done something of that nature, and more at large. If this may be of any service, I shall be thankful.

I had a meeting at John Lewis's, in Joseph's parish, at which were divers not of our profession, and some who were never at any of our religious meetings before; who said they were glad they were there that day; it being a satisfactory open time.

After I had visited my friends and settled my affairs as well as I could, and loaded our vessel with sugars for London, being willing once more to see my native land, and settle my affairs there and see my relations and friends, on the 6th of the Third month we set sail from Barbadoes for London, and had pleasant weather. The 16th being First day, we had a religious meeting for the worship of God, in which I was concerned to speak on the government of the tongue, having on board several hands who did not sail with us before that voyage, and were much used to swearing. After that meeting we had not so many bad words and oaths as before. I was thankful in my soul to the Lord, and blessed his holy name, for his goodness to us that day; and in the night my sleep was very sweet and comfortable, being sensible of the love of God in the visions of the night; so that I witnessed the fulfilling of the prophecy of Joel, chapter ii. 28.

The 23d being the First day of the week, we had

a meeting, in which the grace of God that comes by Jesus Christ, was magnified, and a blessing begged for all who love and serve God, throughout the world, on sea and land ; also a tender petition was put up to Almighty God, that as he was graciously pleased to look down on those eight persons in Noah's ark, so he would please to look upon us in our vessel ; and that as by his divine providence they safely landed on the earth, so we, if it were his will, might safely land at our desired port, yet not that our wills, but his will might be done : which supplication was put up with great submission. Both day and night I often sought the Lord, and was much alone in this voyage. I read the Old and New Testament almost through, and much of it divers times over ; my time being mostly taken up in reading, writing, and meditating, in which, at times, my heart was broken into tenderness, and I was humbly thankful to God that my heart was not hard ; he having promised to visit the contrite ones ; which he sometimes fulfilled, to my unspeakable satisfaction ; glory to his holy name forever. My heart was also thankful that God was pleased to visit me in my watery travels and troubles, and in my separation from my family and friends, who are much nearer and more valuable to me than all riches, and it was a great cross to my natural inclination to part with them.

The 8th of the Fourth month being the First day of the week, we had a meeting, in which acquaintance with God was exhorted to, showing the benefit of it,

and of loving him above all things, and delighting in his law and meditating therein day and night. The 19th in the morning, a strong northerly wind came up and blew so hard that we could not carry sail, but lay to the wind, under our mizzen, which was split or torn with the violence of the wind; and the sea rose high, so that it came into the windows of our great cabin. It was very rugged for the time, and though it was mid-summer, was so cold that we were obliged to clothe ourselves as in winter. The 22d being First day, we had a comfortable meeting after the storm, wherein the great benefit of true religion was a little opened to our small company, and the Lord, Most High, was praised for our deliverance and preservation. The 26th we sounded, and found about seventy fathom depth of water. The 29th we were abreast the Isle of Wight. From the time we left the island of Barbadoes to the time we found ground, was seven weeks. Thus through many perils and dangers we came to Great Britain; for all which mercies and providences, let my soul bless and praise the holy name and mighty power of the Most High.

It was now a time of a very great pressing for seamen, and several men-of-war's boats came on board to press our sailors; but they had prepared a place in the vessel to hide themselves, and the men-of-war's people could not find them. One lieutenant with his men came on board, and seeing us weak-handed, the best of our hands being hid, he asked me if I had any more hands on board? I made him little answer.



He then said he was sure I could not bring the ship from Barbadoes without hands. I told him sailors were hard to be got in Barbadoes, either for love or money, to go for London, for fear of being pressed, and I was obliged to take any I could get. He said it was in vain to talk much, but if I would say I had no more hands on board, he would be satisfied ; he having a belief that I would speak the truth, though he never saw me before ; and he said if I would say there were no more men on board, he would go away, for then he had no more business there : but I made him no answer, not daring to tell a lie. Now I know that there are men on board, said he ; so he commanded his men to search the ship to her keel. So they stripped and made a narrow search, and sweated and fretted, but could not find them. He being civil, I made him when he went away, a small present. He wished me well ; and so I carried my people safely up to London.

In the beginning of the Fifth month I came to London, and lodged at the house of Simeon Warner, in Southwark, and at several kind friends and relations in and about London. The tender and brotherly respect which I received in some of those families in my sickness, will not, I believe, ever be forgotten while I am in this world ; and I hope that He whom I serve with my might and strength, will be their reward. When in the country about London, my residence was mostly at Edmonton, at my dear brother George Chalkley's, who, with my sister and cousins, were

a comfort to me both in health and sickness. In London I was often sorely afflicted with the phthisic and asthma, which sometimes made me very uneasy ; and though my affairs required me to be often in the city, yet I was obliged to return to the country for air, and both in health and sickness was kindly and affectionately received and tended by my dear brother, sister, and all my loving cousins. The memory thereof is cordial to me in penning these lines. It may be truly said, we were very joyful in meeting one another, and our sorrow in parting is not easy to be expressed.

In London I sold my vessel, the Barbadoes packet, and settled all my affairs to general satisfaction, so far as I know, on which account I had labored for several years, and was joyful that Providence had favored me so far as to see it accomplished : so that now I wholly intend to leave trading by sea, which I never inclined to, only on a principle of justice ; for I was fully resolved in my mind that my creditors should be paid their just debts, though I might lose my life in the pursuit of it. I never was extravagant or indolent, but met with many casualties by fire and water ; by the latter I lost many hundreds of pounds for several years together. I would persuade all in their undertakings for a livelihood in this world to be sure to have an eye to divine Providence, who will not suffer us, if we do well, nor so much as a sparrow, to fall to the ground, without He think it

best for us, He knowing what is for our good better than we know ourselves.

When I had paid my debts and in a good degree settled my affairs, I visited several of my relations at Kingsworth, Staines, Guilford, etc.; had a meeting at Market street, and one at Guilford, another at Staines, and one at Longford; in all which I had some service, and my relations were joyful to see me once more, not having expected to see me again. When I had visited meetings in and about London, I went towards the north, in order to visit some places where I had never been, and some that I had been at. The number of meetings and the names of the places where I had meetings, while I was this time in England, are as follows. While I was in and about London, I was at eighteen meetings in that great city, at two of which I was with May Drummond, a virtuous young woman, who hath a good gift in the ministry, and had a gracious opportunity of declaring her conviction to our noble Queen Caroline, our great King George's royal consort. The kind treatment and good reception she had with the Queen, spread so in city and country, that many thousands flocked to hear her, and more of the gentry and nobility than ever were known before at our meetings. I had some private conversation with her, which put me in mind of the apostle's exhortation, where he adviseth the primitive Christians, that their words be few and savory, and that they should be seasoned with grace, for this great reason, that they might administer

grace to the hearers ; and truly I thought there was the influence of grace in her conduct and conversation, whom I pray God to preserve in Christ to the end.

I had a meeting at the house of my brother with his scholars at Edmonton, and also with his family and others of our relations, which some of us may have occasion to remember. We had seven meetings at Tottenham at sundry times, and four at Hartford ; I travelled to Hitchin, from thence to Baldock, and then to Stadtfold and Ashwell. The 7th of the Eighth month being the Third day of the week, to Royston, Fourth to Ives, Fifth to Huntington, Sixth to Ramsey. First day being the 12th of the month, we had a meeting at a small town named Finding; and the same day in the evening had a large meeting at Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire. The 14th being the Third day of the week, we had a meeting at Northampton, Fourth day at Braybrook, Fifth day at Okeham, the county town of Rutland, Sixth day at Long Clackson ; and First day being the 19th of the month, I was at a large and open meeting at Nottingham, where were many people not of our Society, who were very sober ; Third day had a meeting at Fairnsfield, Fourth day at Mansfield, and Fifth at Chesterfield, in Derbyshire ; from whence we went over the moors and mountains. Benjamin Bangs, the younger, accompanied me, who came from Stockport to be my companion and guide thither : his company was pleasant and profitable to me in that hilly country, through which we travelled to Stockport, where we had three

meetings, and where I met with my dear, worthy old friend, Benjamin Bangs. When we met we embraced each other in Christian love, having not seen one another for many years, with whom I stayed four days. This worthy Friend, though upwards of fourscore years of age, went with me to Manchester, where we had two meetings, and then I went back with him to his house. He was a man of extraordinary character, and well beloved, being a pillar in the church of Christ.

From Stockport I went to Macclesfield, to Joseph Hobson's, where I met with Joshua Toft and his brother, two choice ministers of Jesus Christ, of whose company I was glad, though at that time I was very low and poor in my spirit. We had two meetings here on the 2d of the Ninth month, being First day. I was at a large meeting at Morley, and in the evening at the meeting at John Leigh's, at both which there were many people not of our Society, who were very still, and some were broken into tenderness. From Morley I went to Penketh, where we had a large, solid meeting, and had an evening meeting at Warrington, where I met with many brethren and sisters, who sincerely love our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom I was refreshed, particularly at Gilbert Thompson's and Lawrence Calen's. From Warrington I went to Langtree, Preston, and Clifton, where I had meetings, and so went on to Lancaster. I went to Wray, in order to visit my old ship-mate, Elizabeth Rawlinson, whose son, Hutton Rawlinson, went with me. When

I came to Wray, they desired me to have a meeting with them ; and though there was little notice, yet we had a large meeting, the neighbors coming in, and Christ was preached to them freely ; this was the 10th in the evening, and Second day of the week. Third day I went to Kendal, and in the evening, with very little notice, we met with several hundreds of people, Friends and others. It was a surprise to me, I expecting but a few, because of the shortness of time ; but I acknowledge it was a pleasant surprise to see the willingness and readiness of the people to hear the gospel preached. Friends here are a great people, and well beloved and esteemed by their neighbors, and live in much love and unity. The Fourth day many Friends came to see me from divers parts, I giving them some notice that I designed to go no further northward, and hastening to get ready to go to America, betimes in the spring ; having been from home nearly two years ; wherefore many of my friends, some of whom had been at sea with me, met me here. We rejoiced to see one another, and after a large and good meeting, took a solemn farewell, many of us not expecting to see each other any more.

In this journey and travel I endeavored to be, as much as I well could, at such meetings as I had never been at before, and because I was short in this visit to my friends, some were not so well pleased ; but my call was most to the American shore, where I thought my service mostly lay, and in order to return, I set my face toward London, and expected to meet with

my friend and brother in Christ, Isaac Pickerell, in Cheshire, who designed to accompany me towards the south. I went from Kendal to Lancaster, and was at Penketh on a First day, being the 16th of the Ninth month, which meeting was large and solid. We then went to Sutton, where I met with Isaac Pickerell, also with our ancient friend, James Dickinson, and Christopher Wilson, a choice young man, his fellow-laborer. We had meetings at Sutton, Newtown, Chester, and Shrewsbury. James Dickinson was about fourscore years of age, and yet held out in travel to admiration, and was lively in preaching the gospel: he is a worthy elder, of whose company I was joyful: at Shrewsbury we parted, and Isaac and I went to Colebrook, where, on a First day, we had a solid, good meeting. From thence we went to Stourbridge, and after having a meeting there and at Broomsgrove, went on to Worcester, where we had divers large and solemn meetings: we lodged at John Corbin's, who was very kind to us, as also were his hopeful children; and in great love and unity we both met and parted. From Worcester we went to Evesham, where we had two meetings, and from thence to Oddington, and had a large evening meeting; the people, who were mostly of other societies, were very sober, and gave good attention. On Fifth day we had a meeting at Chalbury, and a tender time with a Friend at Wallingford, who was very weak, and expressed his satisfaction and thankfulness for the visit; his children were very tenderly affected also.

The good Lord, the great physician of value, was with us, and his grace was at that time shed abroad in our hearts. From Wallingford we went to Reading, where my good companion and fellow-traveller, Isaac Pickerell, dwelt; we were lovingly received by our friends. I stayed here and rested several days, and had several satisfactory meetings with Friends, they being a large people, living much in love and good will. Here Samuel Thornton, of Edmonton, my kinsman, and Isaac Brown, my wife's son, came from London to see me. From Reading, Isaac Pickerell accompanied me to Maidenhead and to Jordan's, at both which places we had meetings. The house and burying-ground at Jordan's are kept in the neatest order of any I ever saw, in which ground lie the bones of our worthy Friends, Isaac Penington, William Penn, Thomas Ellwood, George Bowles, and their wives, as I remember. This meeting is often, if not mostly, kept in silence; yet several have been convinced there, through the grace of God and the power of the Holy Ghost, which Christ said he would send to the true believers, and that should abide with the Church forever: here my beloved friend Isaac and I parted in much love, having good desires for each other's welfare. From Jordan's I went to my brother's, at Edmonton, where I rested a few days from travelling.

Then a concern came upon me to visit Friends' meetings in the county of Essex, and I went from my brother's to Hartford, and had several meetings there,



and one at Ware, which was very large; after which I went to Hartford again, having relations there. Thence I went to Bishopstafford and Stebbing, where I had meetings; and at Braintree, Coggeshall, and Halstead; and there were abundance of people at Colne, at an evening meeting we had, where I met with my worthy friend Joshua Toft, and his fellow-traveller, Joseph Hobson, we rejoicing to see each other. From Colne I went to Cockfield, which was a very small meeting; then to Colchester, where I stayed several days and went to several meetings, as at Rockstead and Manningtree, and then back to Colchester. On First day I had a large meeting in the afternoon, and after it Friends were for appointing meetings for me to be at in the ensuing week, and desired to know my mind therein. After a little pause I told them I found a full stop in my mind from going to any more meetings at present, and that I would wait some days with them in the city, till I saw further. While we were sitting together, a letter came to me from London, that a Friend, Stephen Payton, had set up my name on the Exchange, in London, as master of the Barbadoes packet, which was the vessel bought of me by John Agar, who sold her to said Stephen Payton, who intended her for Philadelphia, and next morning a messenger was sent for me from London: thus having such a favorable opportunity of returning home, I embraced it, and went on Second day to Witham, where I again met with Joshua Toft and Joseph Hobson at meeting; then

to Plaistow, where we had a meeting, and then to Bromley, near Bow, at Joseph Olive's, where we had a meeting with his people and servants, who were many. I thought it was a good time, a divine hand of love was reached out to the young people, and they were advised to give up their hearts to their Creator in their youthful days; several scores of people belong to this family. After this meeting I went to London and prepared for the voyage. When our vessel was loaded, which was chiefly by Israel Pemberton, the younger, who went with us, as did our owner, Stephen Payton, and Isaac Brown, and four of my kinsfolks, whose names are Freeman, with several other passengers; in the latter end of the Twelfth month my brother and his eldest daughter, Rebecca, with her husband, Samuel Thornton, accompanied me to Gravesend, where our parting with them was very solemn and sorrowful, we not expecting to see one another more.

From Gravesend we sailed the 3d of the First month to the Downs, and from thence down the British channel, and were at sea about nine weeks, which we thought long, having many contrary winds; but after we came on shore, we understood many vessels were much longer. At sea we had meetings, some of which were to my satisfaction. I came very unwell on board; but when at sea, I mended; for which favor I am truly thankful. We landed all well and in health at Philadelphia, in the Third month, 1736, where we were received with joy by our relations,

friends, and acquaintance; it was much the more so, because they had heard I was likely to die. At London I had a sore fit of the asthma or phthisic, three persons sitting up with me for three nights, who I thought would see my end; but the time was not yet come that I must die, though indeed death was no terror to me, hoping my change would be much for the better; for then, I hoped I should be forever with Him whom I loved better than life.

After I had been at home some time, I went to Salem, and from thence to Cohansey, and in my return was at Woodbury creek, and had meetings at each place: and soon after I visited the meetings of Friends at Bristol, Burlington, Trenton, and Bordentown, and in my return home, at Middletown. By the way I called to see my ancient friends, Joseph Kirkbride and the widow Warder; she was ninety-two years of age, and perfect in her understanding; she said she did not know for what end the Almighty should prolong her days to that age; but she was satisfied in his will.

In the Fifth month I visited the meetings of Friends at Haddonfield, in West Jersey, and at Newton, Haverford, Germantown, Abington, North Wales, and Plymouth, and was several times at Philadelphia and Frankford.

After many exercises and large travels by sea and land, my brethren and others not of our Society expressed their gladness to see me, rejoicing that I was likely to spend my time more on the land, hoping that

I would go no more to sea ; the which, God willing, I determined, having so settled my affairs that I could stay on shore ; and am truly and humbly thankful to the Almighty, that he by his good hand of providence, in his due time, had favored and helped me so to do.

In the Sixth and Seventh months I again visited the meetings of Friends at Bristol, Burlington, Byberry, Abington, Horsham, Germantown, Fairhill, and many times at Frankford and Philadelphia.

In the Eighth month I was at two meetings at Cohansey, and one at Alloway's creek, where I met with Edward Tyler, a Friend on a religious visit from Europe, and John Sykes, a Friend living near Crosswicks, in Jersey, where we had an open satisfactory meeting ; from whence I went to Salem, it being their week-day meeting, which was large and to the edification of many. I was also at Pilesgrove on Fifth day, and at Woodbury creek on Sixth day : in which last meeting the obedient son was encouraged, and the disobedient earnestly called home to his heavenly Father's house. In this journey I had John Bringhurst, the younger, for my fellow-traveller ; his father being unwilling that I should go the journey alone.

After I had been at home some time, I, with some others, went to the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, which was on the 23d of the Eighth month ; it was exceedingly large, and the quietest and most settled meeting that ever I was at there ; and many divine truths were delivered therein. From thence I went to Manesquan, and had a meeting, then

to Middletown, where we had a meeting in the Baptist meeting-house, divers of whom were there, and glad of the meeting; thence to Shrewsbury, and had a meeting on First day, being the 30th of the month: from whence, on my return home, had meetings at Moses Robin's, Allentown, Crosswicks, Bordentown, and Mansfield; some of which were large, open, and satisfactory. After the last meeting, we went to Burlington, and next day came home, accompanied by Richard Smith, Jr. After being a few days at home, I was sent for to Chester, to the marriage of John Lee, (who had sailed several voyages with me;) next day I went to the week-day meeting at Providence, and on First day was at Springfield; from whence I returned home.

The 23d of the Ninth month, I left home again, and went to Philadelphia, and from thence with Daniel Stanton, John Easton, and John Proud, Jr., (the two latter of Rhode Island,) to Radnor and Goshen meetings, and by the coldness of the weather, and crossing several creeks, I got a cold, which settled on my lungs, so that, in conversation, I was hoarse; but I was helped in meetings to admiration; for which I was truly thankful to the Almighty, the great helper of his servants and children. We had a meeting with an ancient Friend, who said she had above two hundred who called her mother, being her children by blood and marriage to the fourth generation: we took our leave of her, as not expecting to see each other more, and parted in tenderness of heart. One of this

Friend's grandsons went with us to Concord, where, on a First day, we had a very large meeting, and an evening meeting at Moses Mendenhall's; and the remainder of the week we had meetings at Birmingham, Kennet, New Garden, Marlborough, and the Monthly Meeting at Center, on the Seventh day following, at which were many young people; for whose sakes I was drawn, in my exercise of the ministry, to show the rise and design of our meetings of discipline.

First, That the same Power which gathered us to be a people, inclined our elders to establish those meetings, and settle them in most parts where we were gathered and had meetings for the worship of God.

Second; They were advised to do the business of them, and speak to their affairs, in the sense of the same power, spirit, and wisdom of Christ, which, as it had raised us, would, as we kept to it, preserve us to be a people to the praise of God's holy name.

Third; They were advised, in doing the business, not to run out into many unnecessary words, which might lead to contention, and spending much time to little purpose; religious affairs being done best in a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the Lord; great evils having arisen in many ages, through hot and long contentions about religion. It is also good to avoid, in matters of difference, respect of persons, on account of being acquainted or related so as to be swayed thereby from justice.

Fourth; They were advised to be very careful of

giving any just occasion of offence to any, to Jew or Gentile, to Indian or Negro; for "Woe to them," says our Saviour, "by whom offences come;" and if any will take offence when none is justly given, it is the best way to be patient, and take our Saviour for our example, who got the victory through suffering; a safe way, and glorious in the end. And as to few words, the apostle says, "Let your words be few and savory, seasoned with grace, that they may administer grace to the hearers."

Fifth; I was engaged for the sake of the youth of both sexes, to show them that a material part of the service of these meetings, is that care be taken therein, to see that persons are clear of prior engagements or entanglements, in relation to marriage, and that they have the consent of parents, or parties concerned, as guardians, etc., and also, that they, and all who belong to our Society, walk orderly in conversation; otherwise they could not be in unity with us, or owned by us, as a society of religious people. We do not own scandalous persons, or admit them to be married amongst us, without acknowledging their faults and promising amendment for the future, through divine grace and assistance. Also in those meetings the widows and fatherless are taken care of, that they may be supported and visited, and youths put out apprentices to learn trades, etc.

This meeting concluded with supplication for the rising generation, and for the king and all his subjects, and with thanksgiving and praises to the sacred name of Him who lives forever.

After the above-said meeting we went to Wilmington, a newly settled town on Christiana creek, which I believe will be a flourishing place, if the inhabitants take care to live in the fear of God, and seek his glory and the riches of his kingdom, preferring it to any thing of this world. We had a pretty large meeting here, considering the season, for it was very cold, which was held in a large house of William Shipley's; but they are making provision for a meeting-house. From this town we went to Newark, and had a comfortable meeting at George Robinson's in the evening, and next morning set out for Philadelphia.

As it was now the winter season, and having been divers times at this season of the year in the warm climates, it was harder for me to bear the cold than usual, so that I stayed at and about home pretty much, being often at Philadelphia, Frankford, Germantown, and Abington meetings.

The latter end of the Tenth month, on a First day of the week, I was at a large, open meeting at Darby, in Chester county. After meeting I rode home, about fourteen miles; but it was so cold that my limbs were much benumbed, and were not fully recovered in more than a week. Coming home, between Schuylkill river and Philadelphia, we observed the largest meteor that ever I saw, though I had seen many by sea and land; this was in sight almost a minute, as nearly as I could guess; it was a mighty stream, like a flame of fire, leaving, as it were, sparks of fire behind it as it went along, and then settled like a star, and



disappeared. A few days after this meteor there appeared in the sky an uncommon redness, with streams like fire.

About this time was buried at Frankford, John Hurford, who was about ninety years of age; at whose burial, the coldness of the season considered, were a pretty many Friends, neighbors, and relations of the deceased; as also divers from Philadelphia. I was concerned to advise those present to prepare for their final change; that being certain, though the time is uncertain; which, generally, none knows but the Almighty; therefore we ought always to be preparing for our dissolution, and always watching and praying lest we enter into temptation; as said our dear Lord, "If the good man of the house had known in what hour the thief would come, he would have watched." And we not knowing whether death will come in our youth, in middle, or old age, ought therefore earnestly to prepare our hearts to meet death, so that we might dwell with God and Christ in his kingdom forever. It was also observed, that though this Friend had lived to a great age, yet that few lived so long, no, not one in a thousand, and many die very young. They were earnestly entreated, in the love of God through Christ, to prepare for their latter end, and not to set their hearts and affections on things below; for, by how much they set their hearts and affections on natural or outward objects, by so much the harder it would be to part with them, when death should come. This meeting ended with prayer for reforma-

tion and preservation to the end of life; and praises, yea, high praises were given to Him who had given to all present life, breath and being.

It being exceedingly severe weather, with much rain, wind, and snow, there were great floods, so that we could not get over Frankford creek to meeting; wherefore the Friends on the west side met together at my house, and we had a satisfactory, good meeting, in which we were exhorted to build our religion on the sure foundation; that neither storms, rain, nor winds might be able to shake us from this foundation, which is Christ, the rock of ages.

This winter we were visited at Frankford with the small-pox, of which many died at Philadelphia, and several in our neighborhood.

Staying chiefly at home, I spent much of my time in reading and writing, being often sensible of the love and goodness of God, my exceeding great reward; He by the spirit of his Son comforting me, and sometimes melting my heart into tenderness in consideration of his many mercies, which caused me to praise his holy name, who is thereof worthy, beyond expression, forever.

In the First month I went with my friend John Oxley, of Barbadoes, to Bristol, where we had a large meeting; and then over the river Delaware to Burlington Quarterly Meeting: we were obliged to get to the Jersey shore on the ice, laying boards thereon for about one hundred yards together; and being long on the ice and poorly as to health, I took such

a cold that I could not get to meeting next day, but was at the Youths' Meeting on Third day following. On Fourth day I went to Rancocas meeting, then to a large meeting at Mount Holly, where was a marriage; afterwards to Evesham and Upper Springfield, or Hanover, and then returned to Burlington, and next day was at the Monthly Meeting there, which, to me, was a good, open meeting, wherein church discipline was somewhat treated of, and Friends advised to wait for that Spirit which leads into all truth, to guide them in the discipline.

In the Second month, 1737, I went to Cohansey, in order to negotiate some affairs, and had three meetings at Greenwich and one at Alloway's creek; and on the 9th of said month, being First day, was at Salem meeting, which was large and open: and in the evening we had a heavenly meeting at Bartholomew Wyat's.

After my return from Salem, on the 1st of the Third month I took a journey to the eastward, having a desire to see Friends in those parts, whom I had divers times visited in the service of the gospel, in my young years; and though now upwards of threescore years of age, was willing to visit them once more before I died, who, in some places where I had formerly travelled, were grown very numerous. I set out with Joseph Gilbert and several other Friends, and we travelled together to Long Island, where we parted, and I went to Newtown, where I met with John Fothergill and Samuel Bowne; at which place

we had a meeting, which was appointed on John's account, and his service therein was to the satisfaction and edification of Friends. From thence John went to West Chester, on the main, and I went to Flushing, where we had a large, open meeting: it was a solid, good time, and the sacred name of Him who lives forever, was praised.

From Flushing I went with my old friend and schoolfellow, Joseph Latham, to his house. Our conversation was pleasant and comfortable to each other, wherein we remembered our walking to and from school, in the suburbs of that great and populous city, London; when we were beaten, stoned, and abused, only for being the children of those called Quakers. The priests, who had money for preaching, had preached and printed so many lies against our Friends, that the common people were almost ready to make a sacrifice of us; they telling us, when we pleaded our innocency by saying we went quietly along the streets to school, that "It was no more sin to kill us, than to kill a dog;" but now, through the grace and favor of the Almighty, we enjoy the exercise of our religion, according to our consciences, free from jails and prisons, in which our primitive Friends suffered much; for which we ought to be truly thankful to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

From Joseph Latham's we went to Westbury and Matinickock, after a meeting at Cowneck, and to New York, where I had also religious service and a meeting; and from New York I took my passage in

Robert Bowne's sloop, for Newport, on Rhode Island, was two days and nights on the water, and on my arrival at Rhode Island, the brethren lovingly received me, and we were joyful to see each other.

After having had divers good meetings on Rhode Island, I went to Dartmouth, where we had a large, serviceable meeting at a place called Aponyganset, many hundreds being added to the Church since I first visited those parts. From this place I went to Holder Slocum's, and he lent us his shallop to go over to Nantucket; but the wind not favoring, we had a satisfactory meeting at a large farm of his on an island bearing his own name, and after meeting set sail for Nantucket, had several large meetings there, and I rejoiced to see the growth and increase of Friends on this island; where God hath greatly multiplied his people, and made them honorable; glory to his name forever.

The priests, who have money for preaching; the lawyers, who have it for pleading; and the physicians, who have money for giving receipts for health; are poor trades on this island.

I had been at Nantucket about thirty-nine years before, at which time there were only two men and one woman, who joined with our Friends in profession, and now it was computed there were above a thousand who went to our meetings, they being a sober, religious people; and there is a great increase of Friends in divers other places in New England; and whereas formerly we were greatly persecuted for our religion,

now we are treated with more civility and respect in those parts.

From Nantucket, Nathaniel Starbuck and Elijah Collins went with me, with several other Friends, to the Yearly Meeting at Rhode Island; which was so very large that it was difficult to speak so as to be heard all over it; but the last day our friend, John Fothergill, who had a high voice, being attended with the divine power, gave good satisfaction to the meeting, and it ended well. After this meeting was over, I went with Benjamin Bagnal to Boston, and from thence to Lynn and Salem, and had several satisfactory meetings, which tended to unite our hearts together in the love of Christ, and the fellowship of his gospel. From Salem I went with Zaccheus Collins and his wife to their house, and lodged there three nights, and was lovingly entertained, as I was also at many other Friends' houses. From Lynn Zaccheus Collins accompanied me to Boston, where we had a meeting on a Fourth day of the week, and the next day there was a very large meeting, the greatest gathering of people which had been seen at Friends' meeting-house for a long time, occasioned by the marriage of John Mifflin, of Philadelphia, to Benjamin Bagnal's eldest daughter.

From Boston I returned to Rhode Island, and had divers meetings at Newport and Portsmouth, wherein our hearts were made glad in Christ, and we were strengthened in our faith in him; blessed be his holy name forever.

From Rhode Island I went to Conanicut, and to Kingston in the Narraganset country, and had meetings, and then back to Rhode Island again, and by water in company with divers Friends to Greenwich, where I was at two large meetings : at this place they showed me the trees under which about forty years ago I had a meeting ; but now they have a pleasant meeting-house.

The next First day I was at a large, solid, edifying meeting in a new meeting-house at Tiverton. From thence I went to visit Joseph Wanton's wife, who had been long sick ; and in her chamber, with several of her friends and relations, I had divers religious seasons, with which she expressed much satisfaction ; she died of this sickness, and I was at her burial, which was large, she being well known and beloved. Next day I was at an appointed meeting at Portsmouth, which was large and to satisfaction, for which we blessed the holy name of God. I had many good opportunities on Rhode Island in private families, and was at several meetings over the Beach, at John Easton's, who was about ninety years of age ; he had travelled with me when I was a young man ; we took leave of each other, not expecting to meet more in this world.

After many meetings on Rhode Island, I took my passage for Long Island, in my return homeward ; and after a boisterous passage, and being four nights on the water, I got well again to my loving friend Joseph Latham's, where I had left my horse, and on

Fifth day had a meeting at Cowneck, where I met with Elijah Collins, Rose Tibbets, and Patience Barker, we rejoicing to see each other, after their long journey by land, and mine by water, they being likewise going for Pennsylvania. These Friends went to Flushing First-day meeting, and I to Westbury, where was a large meeting, in which there was a drunken schoolmaster, who disturbed us, though at last it ended quietly, and I hope well also. The next Fourth day I was at the Monthly Meeting at Westbury, where many Friends met from divers quarters, and it was a solid good time. We had a meeting at Thomas Rodman's, who was unwell, and had not been at a meeting for some months; he took our visit kindly, expressing his love to us; we had also a meeting at Jeremiah Williams', to good satisfaction. Fifth day we had a large gathering at Matinicock, and in the evening a tender broken meeting at Samuel Underhill's, and Sixth day a good one at Newtown, wherein primitive Christianity was opened and experimentally declared to the people; and in the evening we had a good opportunity to declare the truth of Christ at the house of Richard Hallet, among several of his sober neighbors. Next morning being the seventh of the week, we went to West Chester to a Yearly Meeting, which was much crowded and the people very unsettled, so that it was not so satisfactory as could have been desired. After meeting we went over again to Long Island, and then to New York, where we had a large quiet meeting in the



evening. At New York on Third day morning, divers dear friends accompanied us to the water-side, where we solemnly took leave of one another in the love of Christ, and in the fellowship of his gospel; some of us not expecting to see each other any more. Passing over Long and Staten Islands to Elizabeth town, we travelled to Rahway, and had a meeting on a Fourth day in the evening, where many neighbors came. After meeting a certain person was dissatisfied about women's public speaking in religious meetings; Rose Tibbets having publicly exhorted them in this meeting to be religious and to fear God; and having prayed to God for us all, and praised his holy name, the said person desired we would endeavor to satisfy him about it, inasmuch as the apostle Paul forbade it, as he apprehended. To which it was answered, that the apostle Paul only forbade, or did not permit forward or busy women to speak or ask questions in the church; but advised them to ask their husbands at home, and that doubtless he never intended to debar such godly women who had a real necessity laid on them, and were concerned by the Almighty to speak unto or pray for the people, else he would not have showed them how they ought to behave themselves in the service. For if he had any design to hinder such, whom the Almighty should call to this work, then he must have contradicted himself, where he shows how they must behave themselves in their duty of speaking or praying; and he would likewise thereby have opposed the apostle

Peter, who said, Now is fulfilled the prophecy of the prophet Joel, that in the latter days sons and daughters should prophesy. So that it is clear and plain, they who would limit or silence those who have a gift from God to preach or pray in public, from the words of the apostle Paul, oppose him to himself, and to the apostle Peter, and also to the prophet Joel.

From Rahway we went to Woodbridge, where we had a meeting, and there I parted with my fellow-travellers, having a concern, though much in the cross to my own will, to go back in the woods to a meeting about eight or nine miles off; which meeting was much to my own satisfaction, as well as of those present, as divers of them expressed. From this place I went to Stonybrook, and had a pretty large meeting, considering it was rainy, in the time of the meeting's gathering. At this place, my son-in-law, Isaac Brown, with several Friends, came to meet me, whom I was glad to see, and after meeting went with them to Trenton, and next day to Bristol, it being their Third-day meeting, which was large, and after meeting went home to Frankford, and there was lovingly received by my wife and family. In this journey I was from home three months and nine days, had fifty-five meetings, and travelled by land and water above a thousand miles. I may truly say, that therein I was favored with the divine presence and grace of God by Christ, in a good degree, and also with the fellowship of many sincere believers in him,

which in my return caused my soul to bless His holy name, who lives forever.

In the Sixth month, after having had divers meetings at and about home, I went to Darby, Chester, and Newcastle, having meetings in each place, which were to the tendering of some mournful souls, and to their comfort and strength. From Newcastle I ferried over Delaware river to Penn's-neck, where I had a meeting, at which were several that had never been at any of our meetings before, who went away well satisfied. From thence I went to Salem Monthly Meeting, which was very large, and to Cohansey to the Third-day meeting, and stayed till next First-day meeting, which, though small, by reason of rainy, stormy weather, was a very precious time. After I had negotiated some affairs at Cohansey, I returned to Salem, where I met with my fellow-traveller, Elijah Collins, of Boston, with whom I went on to Philadelphia, and from thence home ; having much satisfaction in this journey, in which I had nine meetings, and travelled about one hundred and fifty miles. I cannot be clear in my mind without saying that I did not, nor do I study what to preach to the people. Nor did I, nor do I, receive any pay or outward consideration for preaching, it being, as I really believe, contrary to the doctrine of Christ, and his apostles and disciples.

## CHAPTER XII.

1737-1740.

**Religious Services about Home — Religious Visit in New Jersey and through several Southern Provinces — Death of George Chalkley of London — Epistle to Friends of Opeckon — Journey into the Lower Counties — Visit to Parts of New Jersey — Mortality in Philadelphia — Obligation on the People of Pennsylvania to maintain the Principles of Peace — Religious Visit to the Virgin Islands — Voyage and Services in Tortola — Last Sickness and Death.**

THIS fall I visited several of the meetings of Friends in Bucks county, and the meetings at and about home, as at Frankford, Philadelphia, Abington, Byberry, and Germantown. In the Ninth month I was appointed with several other Friends, by our Monthly Meeting, to visit the families of Friends in Philadelphia. My lot was to visit the upper part of the city, in company with Phebe Morris, Hannah Parrock, and Daniel Stanton; in which service we were of one heart and mind, and performed it in pure self-denial, and in the cross of our holy Lord Jesus Christ. And wonderful it was, how the presence and goodness of God went with us from house to house, and opened the states and conditions of the families to us, to the tendering of many hearts, both of parents and chil-

dren. We visited about forty families of Friends, when the winter setting in, and I being but weakly, having had a sharp spell of the fever, we by consent were willing to defer the conclusion of this work until longer days and warmer weather.

In this month I was sent to, in order to be at the burial of the wife of Richard Smith, Jr. She was a virtuous woman, and well beloved, at whose funeral were many of her neighbors and friends. It was a very solemn time, in which meeting it was desired that those who had lost their parents, would live so that they might not be a dishonor to them; for it was observed of some children, after their parents were dead, they grew worse than when they were alive, taking undue liberties, which their fathers and mothers could not have allowed of, which was a sore grief and trouble to their friends, and such as wished them well. Therefore they were exhorted not to do that when their parents were dead, which they would not have done if they were living; which would be heavy on them, and tend to bring a blast on them in this world; and they were desired to consider how they would answer it in the world to come.

It was also observed, that sometimes the death of parents had a good effect on sober young people, they being thereby led more seriously to think on their own mortality, and to consider the great loss of their careful and religious fathers and mothers, and the good example and counsel they gave them. This meeting concluded with a solid, weighty frame of

mind in many. From Burlington I went to Mount Holly, had a large meeting at the meeting-house, and another in the evening at Mount Holly town, at the house of Thomas Shinn; both of which were open, and some people not of our profession were there, who were well satisfied. I then went to Evesham, Chester, and Haddonfield, at all which places I had large meetings, and back to Burlington, and was at their Fifth-day meeting. From Burlington I went with Richard Smith, Caleb Raper, and Jonathan Wright, to visit a Friend who was sick, after which the said Friends accompanied me to the ferry; and I rode home, where I found my family well, for which I was thankful.

In the forepart of the Tenth month, our worthy friend John Fothergill sailed in the brigantine "Joseph," Ralph Loftus, master, for Barbadoes, he having made a third visit to America from Europe, on a religious account. His visit was acceptable and serviceable, and we parted in great love and tenderness. The night before, about the eleventh hour, was an earthquake, which was the greatest known in this province, the whole city of Philadelphia being shaken, and most part of the adjacent provinces, though little or no damage was done thereby, which shows the abundant mercy of a merciful God; as also, if it were the pleasure of his will, how soon he can lay cities and countries waste and desolate, and bury thousands in a moment. But notwithstanding the mighty power of the eternal Jehovah, oh! how hard are the people's

hearts, and how they hate to be reformed, and how unconcerned are the inhabitants of the land about their eternal peace and wellbeing! This is really lamentable. Oh! how do earthly-mindedness, pride, covetousness, and drunkenness abound, with many other evils, which were scarcely known amongst the first settlers of this peaceful, and now plentiful land of Pennsylvania.

The 26th of the Twelfth month, being the First day of the week, was buried at Merion, Edward Jones, aged about ninety-two years. He was one of the first settlers of Pennsylvania, a man much given to hospitality, a lover of good and virtuous people, and was beloved by them. There were many hundreds of people at his funeral. I had a concern to be at this meeting before I left my place at Frankford, and before I heard of this Friend's decease.

The beginning of the First month, being the Fifth day of the week, I was sent to, in order to be at the burial of Hannah, the wife of John Mickle, at Newtown, in West Jersey. My kinsman, Daniel Stanton, was with me. It was a solid, heart-melting time; my heart was broken into tenderness with many others. The deceased was much beloved by her friends and neighbors, and there was much mourning among her relations, by whom she will be greatly missed. The people were desired earnestly to prepare for their latter end and final change; and that as we had all reason to hope it was well with our deceased friend, we might likewise have a well-grounded hope

that it would be well with ourselves, when we came to put off mortality and put on immortality. The meeting ended with fervent supplication for our future well-doing and wellbeing, both here and hereafter, and praise to the Most High, who is alone worthy for evermore.

As soon as I returned to Philadelphia on the Sixth day of the week, I heard of the death of Joseph Kirkbride, at Israel Pemberton's, who told me I was desired to be at his burial. He, his son, and William Logan, accompanied me as far as Samuel Bunting's that afternoon, with which journey I was exceedingly tired, so that I could hardly stand or go when I alighted off my horse; but being refreshed with a good night's rest, I went in the morning to the house of my deceased friend. There was a multitude of people at the burial, among whom we had a good opportunity to invite them to lay hold on truth and righteousness, and prepare for another world. They were reminded that neither natural wisdom nor riches, youth nor strength, crowns nor sceptres, could secure them from the stroke of death. Robert Jordan was at this meeting and had good service therein; it concluded in supplication for the widow and fatherless, and for mankind universally. Fourth day being the 4th of the First month, I was at Middletown meeting in company with Thomas Brown, wherein the divinity of Christ and his being made flesh, born of a virgin, crucified, dead and buried, and his being raised from the dead by the divine power, were largely opened to the people, and that the same power must be wit-



nessed to reform our lives, and give us the true saving faith in, and knowledge of God the Father, and Christ the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

This month at our General Spring Meeting, I acquainted Friends that I had a desire once more to see my friends in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, if health and strength did permit, and divine Providence favored, not having yet fully recovered my former health and strength: the meeting consented to my request.

The latter end of the First month I was at the burial of Robert Evan, of North Wales; he was upwards of fourscore years of age, and one of the first settlers there. A man who lived and died in the love of God and his neighbors, of whom I believe it might be truly said, as our Saviour said of Nathaniel: "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile." He was a minister of Christ, full of divine and religious matter. In this month I was at Fairhill, at a meeting appointed for Ruth Courtney and Susannah Hudson, who were on a religious visit from Ireland to Friends in this and the adjacent provinces. It was a good meeting, the Friends speaking to the state thereof.

The beginning of the Second month I went over the Delaware, and so to Cohansey, intending home before I set out for my journey to the southward; but my affairs not answering so as to come home, and afterward to reach the Yearly Meeting of Friends at West river, which I proposed to our General Meeting, I wrote to my wife and family that I intended to pro-

ceed to West river Meeting, it saving me much time and riding; and after having been at several meetings at Cohansey, and at the Yearly Meeting at Salem, and at a meeting at Piles Grove, being accompanied by a Friend of Salem, I proceeded and went over Delaware river, and first had a meeting at George's creek, and from thence to the head of Sassafras river, where we had a meeting, but by reason of the wet weather it was small. We travelled to Cecil meeting, and so on to Chester; then to Queen Ann's county, and from thence to Newtown, on Chester river, where we had a large satisfactory meeting; in which it was shown that no Christian might or could break the moral part of the law; for, said the apostle, it is a school-master to bring to Christ, and that those who come to the gospel of Christ, can in no wise break the least commandment of God. For example: the law saith, "Thou shalt not forswear thyself;" but if a man, according to Christ's gospel, swears not at all, then that man cannot forswear himself. Again the law saith, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy;" but Christ says, love your enemies; the which if we do, there is no doubt but we shall love our neighbors. Those things were largely spoken to and opened in the meeting, and the people, many of whom were not of our Society, were very attentive and sober, and the good hand of the Almighty was amongst us.

From Chester river we crossed Chesapeake bay to the Yearly Meeting at West river, where we met with our friends Michael Lightfoot, Elizabeth Wyat, and

Grace Mason, with divers others; Elizabeth and Grace being on their return home from a religious visit to North Carolina and Virginia. We all being far from home and well acquainted, were glad to see one another, being thankful to the Almighty, who had been pleased to preserve us so far on our way. After the meeting was ended at West river, taking leave in the love of Christ of divers Friends, with hearts full of love and eyes full of tears, as never expecting to see one another again, I with my companion and Armiger Trotter, who came up with the Friends from Virginia to West river, set out for Virginia, and having passed over Patuxent river, had a meeting among the family of the Plummers, one of whom, with another Friend, accompanied us to the river Potomac; we rode as nearly as we could compute sixty miles that day. I being heavy and aged and the weather hot, was very much tired, and laid down in my clothes all night, and the next morning ferried over the river Potomac, computed about three miles, and parted with our guides. When over this river we travelled fifteen miles to William Duff's, had a meeting there, and from thence to a meeting of Friends at John Cheagle's, and so to Black creek, had a meeting there, and then went to the Monthly Meeting of Friends on the west side of James river, and to the Monthly Meeting at Nansemond river, and from thence to Carolina, and on a First day had a large meeting at a new meeting-house built to accommodate the Yearly Meeting; it was a good, solid meeting, and there Friends appointed

several meetings for us; after attending which we went to the Quarterly Meeting for Friends in North Carolina, which was very large. The people were exhorted to overcome sin as Christ overcame, that they might sit with him in his kingdom, as he overcame, and is set down in the kingdom of God his Father: that subject was largely spoken to, and we had a good opportunity with the people, and the great name of God was exalted over all. After this Quarterly Meeting we had a meeting at James Wilson's, in the barrens, which was a large, good, and open meeting: in the conclusion thereof, I told them that I came among them in great love, though in a cross to my own will, with respect to my age and the heat of the weather, being willing to see them in that province once more before I left this world; and as I came in love, so I parted with them; desiring them to dwell in love and peace, and then the God of love would be with them.

From Carolina we travelled into Virginia, Zachariah Nixon accompanying us, and had a meeting at the widow Newby's, and then at Nansemond and the Branch; many people were there not of our Society, and were very attentive and sober. Next day being the second of the week, we had a satisfactory meeting at Bennet's creek; then to Chuckatuck, Rasper-neck, Pagan creek, and into Surry county, to Samuel Sebrell's; then to Robert Honicut's, had a meeting there; then to Curl's, up James river; to Thomas and John Pleasants', and then to the Swamp and Cedar creek; and so on to John Cheagle's.

We came to his house on Fifth day, the 20th of the Fifth month; and being unwilling to be idle on Sixth and Seventh days, intending to have a meeting at his house on First day, we appointed one about three miles, and another about six miles off; at which places we had good service: and then had a very large meeting at his house, on First day, which was, I hope, to pretty general satisfaction, to the religious part of the people. From thence we travelled to William Duff's, and had a meeting at their meeting-house; and afterwards William went with us over Potomac river, as far as Piscataway, in Maryland. This river is computed to be nearly four miles over, and when we were about the middle, there was a large swell, and the motion of the boat made our horses fall down, and the boat having much water in it, being very leaky, was near oversetting. Those in the boat were in some concern and consternation, saying, when we came to the shore, that they did not remember they were ever before in the like danger. I apprehend we were in danger; and if the boat had overset, in all likelihood we might have been drowned. And I then thought I was in the service of Christ, my great master, and I also knew I must die, and I thought I might as well die in his service as my own; so I gave up my life for Christ's sake, and he gave it to me again. Oh! may I, with all those who sincerely love him, serve him truly all our days, is my desire!

From Piscataway we travelled to Patuxent, to the family of the Plummers, who were ten sons of one

father and mother, and were convinced about the time; I first had meetings in those parts, and so far as I know, they are all sober men.

After this meeting we went to Gerard Hopkins', then to Patapsco, and had a large meeting, the house being full before the Friends came, so that they could hardly get in; to me it was a good, seasonable opportunity, as was our next in the forest of Gunpowder river; where Friends have built a new meeting-house, which, at this time, could not contain the people. From Gunpowder river we went to Bush river, had a good, open meeting, and one at Deer creek, and so over Susquehanna to Elihu Hall's.

At West Nottingham I parted with my companion, he having about a day's travel home. I had two meetings on First day at the great meeting-house at West Nottingham, which were very large, and Friends glad to see me once more. After having meetings at Christiana bridge, Wilmington, Center, and Kennet, I went to the Quarterly Meeting of ministers at Concord, and was there First and Second day, and Third day at Darby; all which were very large meetings, and Friends were satisfied and comforted, and I was encouraged in the work and service of the gospel of Christ. From Darby I went home, having been abroad about four months, and rode, by computation, above eleven hundred miles, and was at about seventy meetings.

While I was on this journey, I had an account of the death of my dear and only brother, George

Chalkley, a religious, prudent man ; he died the 24th of the Ninth month, 1737, near the seventieth year of his age, and left behind him a mournful widow and four daughters, all virtuous women.

When in Virginia, I wrote to those of our Society at Opeckon, Shenandoah, etc., many of whom went out of our province to settle in the government of Virginia ; to the following effect.

*To Friends of the Monthly Meeting at Opeckon.*

“ VIRGINIA, at John Cheagle’s, 21st of Fifth month, 1738.

“ Dear Friends, who inhabit Shenandoah and  
Opeckon, —

“ Having a concern for your welfare and prosperity, both now and hereafter, and also the prosperity of your children, I had a desire to see you ; but being in years and heavy, and much spent and fatigued with my long journeys in Virginia and Carolina, it seems too hard for me to perform a visit in person to you ; wherefore I take this way to discharge my mind of what lies weightily thereon : and,

“ First ; I desire that you be very careful, being far and back inhabitants, to keep a friendly correspondence with the native Indians, giving them no occasion of offence ; they being a cruel and merciless enemy, where they think they are wronged or defrauded of their right, as woful experience hath taught in Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, and especially in New England, etc. ; and,

“Second ; As divine Providence hath given them and their forefathers the possession of this continent of America, or this wilderness, they have a natural right thereto, in justice and equity ; and no people, according to the law of nature and justice, and our own principle, which is according to the glorious gospel of our dear and holy Lord Jesus Christ, ought to take away, or settle on other men’s lands or rights, without consent, or purchasing the same, by agreement of parties concerned ; which I suppose in your case is not yet done.

“Third ; Therefore my counsel and Christian advice to you is, my dear friends, that the most reputable among you do, with speed, endeavor to agree with and purchase your lands of the native Indians or inhabitants. Take example of our worthy and honorable late proprietor, William Penn ; who, by his wise and religious care in that relation, hath settled a lasting peace and commerce with the natives, and through his prudent management therein hath been instrumental to plant in peace one of the most flourishing provinces in the world.

“Fourth ; Who would run the risk of the lives of their wives and children, for the sparing a little cost and pains ? I am concerned to lay these things before you under an uncommon exercise of mind, that your new and flourishing little settlement may not be laid waste, and if the providence of the Almighty doth not intervene, some of the blood of yourselves, wives, or children, be spilled on the ground.



“Fifth ; Consider you are in the province of Virginia, holding what rights you have under that government ; and the Virginians have made an agreement with the natives to go as far as the mountains, but no further ; and you are over and beyond the mountains, therefore out of that agreement ; by which you lie open to the insults and incursions of the southern Indians, who have destroyed many of the inhabitants of Carolina and Virginia, and even now have destroyed more on the like occasion. The English going beyond the bounds of their agreement, eleven of them were killed by the Indians while we were travelling in Virginia.

“Sixth ; If you believe yourselves to be within the bounds of William Penn’s patent from King Charles II., which will be hard for you to prove, you being far to the southward of his line ; yet, if done, that is of no consideration with the Indians, without a purchase of them ; except you will go about to convince them by fire and sword, contrary to our principles ; and if that were done, they would ever be implacable enemies, and the land could never be enjoyed in peace.

“Seventh ; Please to note that in Pennsylvania no new settlements are made without an agreement with the natives ; as witness Lancaster county, lately settled ; though that is far within the grant of William Penn’s patent from King Charles II., wherefore you lie open to insurrections of the northern as well as southern Indians.

“ And lastly ; Thus having shown my good will to you and to your new settlement, that you might sit every one under your own shady tree, where none might make you afraid, and that you might prosper naturally and spiritually, you and your children ; and having in some measure eased my mind of the weight and concern that lay upon me, I subscribe in the love of our holy Lord Jesus Christ,

“ Your real friend,

“ THOMAS CHALKLEY.”

After my return from this journey, I stayed much at home that winter, travelling being now hard for me, so that I could not perform long journeys as formerly, being more broken in the long and hard travelling in this journey than in divers years before.

In the year 1739 I took several short journeys in Salem and Burlington counties, in West Jersey, and in Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks counties, in Pennsylvania, having many large and comfortable meetings, and some satisfactory service in several of them.

This year the war broke out between Great Britain and Spain ; the Spaniards giving great occasion of offence to the British nation ; notwithstanding which, King George II. sought to accommodate matters peaceably ; but the crown of Spain not complying with the terms agreed on for an accommodation, war was proclaimed ; which occasioned much disturbance and distraction in our peaceable province and government. War being destructive to life, health, and

trade, the peace and prosperity of the people, and absolutely against the doctrine and practice of the Prince of life and peace, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, a great concern came on my mind to promote his doctrine; in order to which I was largely concerned to treat thereof at the General Spring Meeting at Philadelphia; with which service divers wise and pious people were well satisfied, though some were offended.

When the meeting was over, having a desire and concern once more to visit Friends in the lower counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, among whom I had not travelled for nearly twenty years, and being now a little better in health than I had been, I set out from my home, and went to Chester, and from thence to Wilmington and Newcastle, where we had meetings; William Hammond being with me. We had meetings at George's creek, Duck creek, and Little creek, and proceeded to Motherkill, where I had a large, open time in preaching the gospel to the people, which divers of them received with gladness. There were many, not of our Society, who were very sober and attentive, a door being open among them; yet, notwithstanding there may be much openness both in speakers and hearers, I have observed with sorrow that there are but few who retain the truth, so as to be really converted; many are convinced, but few converted and come to be regenerated or born again, as our Saviour taught.

From Motherkill I went back to Little creek and

Duck creek, and from thence to Appoquinimink to the burial of a Friend's son, who died of the small-pox ; on which occasion we had a solid meeting, the mournful relations being thankful for our company. I then went to John M'Cool's, and to Newcastle ; where we had a large, open meeting to the satisfaction of divers ; though I was very weakly and poorly, as to my health, so that it was hard for me to stoop to take anything from the ground, and with difficulty I walked from the Friend's house to the meeting ; but being helped by grace and carried through the service of the meeting beyond my expectation, was, with divers others, truly thankful to God the Father, and Christ, my Lord and Saviour.

From Newcastle I went to Wilmington, had a meeting there, and to Newark, to the marriage of Alexander Seaton. The meeting was uncommonly large, and to general satisfaction.

From Newark I went to Center Monthly Meeting, and to Kennet, where was a very large meeting. Here divers who had professed among us, refrained coming to the public meetings for divine worship ; with whom next day we had a meeting, wherein the evil consequence of forsaking the assembling ourselves together was spoken to, and that it would be a great hurt to the young and rising generation, and themselves also ; being a bad example to them, and contrary to the advice and counsel of the holy apostle, "Not to forsake the assembling ourselves together, as the manner of some is."

From Kennet I went to Concord, to the burial of Benjamin Mendenhall, where we had a large and solid meeting, several lively testimonies being borne therein. This Friend was a worthy elder and a serviceable man in our Society, and one of the early settlers in Pennsylvania; a man given to hospitality, and a good example to his family, and hath left divers hopeful children surviving him.

The night before this meeting I lodged at the widow Gilpin's, whose husband, Joseph Gilpin, was lately deceased. There was true Christian love and friendship between us for above fifty years. When first I saw Joseph in Pennsylvania, he lived in a cave in the earth, where we enjoyed each other's company in the love and fear of God. This Friend had fifteen children, whom he lived to see brought up to the states of men and women, and all but two married well, and to his mind.

From Concord I went to Wilmington, and after meeting to Newcastle, where with George Hogg, I went over the river Delaware into Penn's-neck, and had a meeting at James Wilson's. Then to Salem and Cohansey, where I had several meetings at Greenwich, and at the head of Alloway's creek; also at David Davis's, where the people kindly lent us the benches of their meeting-house, and many of them came and were very attentive; after which I went to Pilesgrove, and had a meeting there, and to Woodbury creek, and from thence home, having travelled about five hundred miles in this journey. I stayed at and about home for some time.

I was at the Yearly Meeting at Burlington in the Seventh month; in going to which my horse started and threw me, and hurt my shoulder and hip badly, of which I did not recover for above half a year.

This meeting was very large, and though I was outwardly in pain, yet in the sense of the love and goodness of God and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, I was, with many others, much comforted in spirit.

From Burlington I travelled to Shrewsbury, having several meetings by the way; as at Bordentown, Crosswicks, Trenton, etc. This journey I rode in much pain; but the satisfaction I had in meetings, through the spirit and power of the Most High, made amends for all the labor and pain I underwent. I bless the sacred name of God, and may I do it forever! I made what haste I could home, being in pain with my fall, and tarried at home most of the winter, which was one of the longest and hardest known in these parts by some of the oldest livers; people being frozen to death in several places, and many sheep and cattle perishing, and much of the winter grain killed with the frost, so that there was some apprehension of a want of bread: all which I took to be warnings of the just and righteous judgments of God for the ingratitude, pride, and other sins and iniquities of the people, of which I was at many times and places concerned to put them in mind. How well would it be if the people would lay the judgments of the Most High to heart; and when they are abroad in the earth, that the inhabitants thereof would learn righteousness!

After this winter I was at a General Meeting at Germantown, and at meetings at North Wales, Hors- ham, and Byberry, and from thence, with Joseph Gilbert, went to Burlington, and was at a marriage, and then returned home.

In the Second month I was under a religious engagement to visit the meetings of Friends in Gloucester and Salem counties, in West Jersey; and the 19th of said month I went over Delaware river, and was at Haddonfield on a First day, and Third day at Chester, Fourth day had a meeting at the house of Josiah Foster, and Fifth day at Evesham; from which meeting I went to John Estaugh's, Ebenezer Large and Samuel Jordan being with me. In the morning we went to Woodbury creek meeting, and next day down to Salem, in order for the Yearly Meeting, which began on the 26th of the Second month, and was an extraordinarily solid meeting, the divine presence and glory being richly manifested amongst us.

From Salem I went in company with John Evans and Elizabeth Stevens, to Alloway's creek and Cohansey, where we had meetings, I believe to the satisfaction of many. Here I parted with said Friends, and not being well, I stayed at Greenwich, and they went to David Davis's, in order for Pilesgrove meeting.

The 3d of the Third month, being the first of the week, I was at Cohansey meeting, which was solid and weighty; in which the mighty works of God and his wonderful power were set forth to the people in divers respects.

First; As to the work of the creation of the heavens and the earth, and of man to govern in the earth, reserving to himself the government of man, to whom he gave a law, for the breach of which he was turned out of paradise, and brought death into the world.

Second; Notwithstanding man's fall, God had love, mercy, and compassion towards him, and promised that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent, who led them astray; which seed is Christ, whom all are commanded to hear, believe, and follow, in the practice of his holy doctrine, which is contained in his words spoken to his immediate disciples and apostles, and likewise made known and revealed in our hearts.

Third; That now in our day his righteous judgments are abroad in the earth, as the sword, and a threatening of famine, or want of bread: all which was spoken in the tender love and fear of God and faith of Christ, and all were entreated to lay these things to heart, and "Turn to the Lord, and he will have mercy; and to our God, and he will abundantly pardon." In this meeting God was glorified and his name magnified, through the assistance of the spirit of his dear Son, our Lord.

From Cohansey I went to Salem, and to David Davis's, where we had a meeting, at which were several people of divers professions, who were satisfied and edified therein; and thence we went to Pilesgrove meeting, afterwards into Penn's-neck, and had a good open meeting at the widow Hugh's, and so to



Woodbury creek meeting, which I hope was serviceable. After this I went home with my friend James Lord's widow, who, with Joseph Clews and her sister Ann Cooper, went with me to Gloucester jail, where we visited one under sentence of death for stealing. I asked him if he truly repented of that sin of stealing, of which he had been so often guilty? He told me he hoped he had, and was willing to die. He was recommended to the grace of God, and to keep in an humble frame of mind, and beg mercy of the Almighty for the sake of Christ, for all his sins. While a Friend was praying by him, he was broken into tenderness.

Here the aforesaid Friends parted from me; I crossing the river Delaware to Philadelphia, and so home to Frankford. I was at ten meetings in this journey, besides the Yearly Meeting at Salem, and travelled about one hundred and fifty miles; but travelling was painful to my body: for now I more and more felt the effects of many old falls and bruises, which much disabled and hurt me in riding.

In the Fourth month I was at several meetings about or near home, as at Fairhill, Germantown, a meeting at Thomas Roberts'; and also at Philadelphia. In the beginning of the Fifth month I visited Friends' meetings at Darby, Merion, and Haverford; at the last place the meeting was large and very open; wherein the mighty power of God was exalted over all, and it was plainly manifested, that if there was any virtue, or any good gift or genius in the creature, it derived its excellency from the Creator; and that

man, in his best capacity, in either natural or spiritual attainments, has no cause to boast or glory in anything which he, as an instrument in the divine hand, might help to perform; wherefore we ought to humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, attributing no glory to self, or the creature; but all glory and praise to the Creator, who is in and over all blessed forever.

The 20th of the Fifth month, I set forward on a journey, in order to visit Friends at and near Burlington, and was next day at a meeting at Bristol, which was large, considering the heat of the weather, and the shortness of the notice. On Fourth day, the 22d, I was at Mount Holly, at the burial of our ancient friend, Restored Lippincot: he was, as I understood, nearly a hundred years of age, and had upwards of two hundred children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, many of whom were at his funeral; the meeting was large, and thought to be serviceable. After this meeting, I went with a few choice Friends to visit Susanna Fearon, who had been long ill; in which visit we were favored with the divine presence and goodness of the Most High; for which we returned him thanks and praise; we then went to Burlington, and next day had a meeting, which was an acceptable opportunity to many.

Next First day, being the 27th of the month, we had a good solid meeting at Trenton; and I went, with divers Friends, to Bristol, and so home to Frankford; and was thankful to the Almighty for the grace

which he was pleased to bestow upon me, a poor worm; and that, considering the extreme heat, I had my health better than usual. After coming home, I visited meetings at Philadelphia, Haddonfield, Frankford, etc.

In the Sixth month there was a great mortality in Philadelphia, and many were taken away; on a Fifth day I was concerned to put the people in mind of it, and of their own mortality, and exhorted them to prepare for it, they not knowing whose turn it might be next, nor the hour when death might come to their own habitations; and was concerned in the same way, at several large burials. In the meeting at Philadelphia, they were told it was better to fall into the hands of the Lord than into the hands of men: and that since we had been settled in this province of Pennsylvania, we were preserved from the hands of men; there having never been an enemy in it, in a warlike way; our dependence being in Providence, and our principle against war and against spilling human blood by wars and fighting, according to the doctrine of Christ, the peaceable Saviour; wherefore I believe the hand of God was manifested in preserving us in peace; yet I would not be understood to be against the magistrates exercising the power committed to them, according to just law; but national wars, woful experience teacheth, are destructive to the peaceable religion of Jesus, to trade, wealth, health, and happiness. Our dear Lord preached peace to the people, and against wars; telling his followers, That they must love and pray for their ene-

mies, and rather take a stroke or a blow, than give one; and that they should not resist evil; which peaceable doctrine of Christ, the Jews could not away with; no, no, by no means: "Oh!" say they, "If we let this man alone, the Romans will come and take away our place and nation:" just as the people now say in this province, to those peaceable men who, for the sake of Christ and his doctrine, cannot use the sword: "The Romans will come and take our country, if we do not build forts and castles, and have military preparations." I wish it were not true, that some who profess this peaceable principle, too much endeavor to smother, stifle, and keep under this peaceable doctrine, through a slavish fear and distrusting divine Providence, which may cause his hand to deliver us to the Romans indeed; at which I should not wonder, since we distrust Him who hath hitherto preserved us, without our preparing for war, for more than fifty years. To which I know it is objected: "But now there are abundance of people who are not of that principle." I answer, then why did they come among us, if they could not trust themselves with our principles, which they knew, or might have known, if they would? The king gave the province, and the government of it, to our worthy proprietor, William Penn; who was a man of this peaceable principle; for which the heathens loved him and honor his name and memory to this day, and those of his Society and principles; whereof I am a living witness. The sense of the sweetness and social life that the first settlers

Bermuda, the other for the island of Christopher's; and left the Capes on the 23d day of the month, and in eighteen days from that time fell in with the island of Thomas, and in one day more turned up to Tortola.

In this voyage we saw nine sail of vessels; but spoke with none of them: had a rough passage, the wind being high and contrary above a week, and much rain; yet through the mercy and grace of God, I was preserved above all fear, except the holy fear of the living Lord, in which I blessed his holy name.

On the 12th day of the Eighth month, John Pickering, the owner of the sloop, who was likewise governor of the Island, with his spouse, met me at the water-side, and lovingly embraced me, and led me up to their house, where we had a meeting the same evening; and on the 15th of the month, being the Fifth day of the week, we had a large, satisfactory meeting, at which were many people, divers of them not of our profession; and I think the good hand of the Lord was with us. I was concerned in this meeting to show that the last dispensation of God to mankind, in and through his dear Son, is a spiritual dispensation, a dispensation of pure, divine love, which is to last and be with the true believers in Christ forever, according to his own doctrine in the New Testament.

On the First day of the week and the 18th of the month, we had another meeting, larger than the former, and the governor told me he had never seen so large a gathering on the island, on any occasion. My spirit was much set at liberty in this meeting,

of the province of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia lived in, makes me express myself in this manner. Oh! that the inhabitants of the city and country did but live and dwell in that first love, and hold it fast; then I believe that the Almighty would not suffer any to take our crown: which crown is righteousness, peace, and love, through true faith; which true faith works by love in Christ Jesus.

On the last day of the Fifth month, I acquainted my friends of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, with a concern I had been some time under, to visit the people in the Virgin Islands, and more particularly in Anguilla and Tortola; in order to preach the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ freely, to those who might have a desire to hear, as the Lord should be pleased to open my way. My friends having unity with me therein, at their next meeting gave me a certificate of their concurrence: soon after which, having settled my affairs and taken leave of my dear wife and daughter, and the rest of my family and friends, on the 19th day of the Seventh month, I embarked at Philadelphia in the sloop "John," Peter Blunder, master, bound for the island of Tortola.

We sailed down the river and came to anchor near Christiana creek that night, in which there was a violent storm, which drove several vessels on the marshes; so that when the tide ebbed, one might walk round them. Next day we sailed to Reedy island, where we waited for a fair wind: we sailed down the bay in company with two sloops, one bound for

Bermuda, the other for the island of Christopher's; and left the Capes on the 23d day of the month, and in eighteen days from that time fell in with the island of Thomas, and in one day more turned up to Tortola.

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and great openness and brokenness was among the people, so that the gospel was freely and largely declared to them. The case of Cornelius and of the apostle Peter going to his house, was treated of, with other matters tending to edification. I was so affected with the power, spirit, and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that when the meeting was over I withdrew, and in private poured out my soul before the Lord, and begged that he would be pleased to manifest his power and glorious gospel more and more. At this meeting there was a woman who had suffered much for going to meetings; her husband being a proud, haughty man, had beaten her to the drawing of blood; he also drew his sword and presented his pistol, with threatenings to kill her; but she thanked God that she was resigned to lose her life for Christ's sake. She expressed some words in supplication in this meeting in a broken manner. There was also a young woman, whose father had turned her out of doors for coming to Friends' meetings.

I went with the governor and his wife, to visit a few families up in the mountains, and had a meeting, in which was great brokenness and tenderness in the time of prayer.

On Second day we visited several families in the division called the road, to which we went by water in a coble, somewhat like our canoes; there were four of these in company, five persons in two of them, and seven in the other two. In this visiting of families, the people came and filled the rooms, and we had



seasonable meetings, in which the people were so loving and well affected, that we could seldom go in a friendly way to visit our friends, but they would presently fill their rooms, and we scarcely could depart, without having a time of worship.

Next day we went to visit a young man's habitation, and the neighbors coming in as usual, we had a good meeting.

I cannot but note that the hand of the Lord God was with us, and I felt his visitation as fresh and lively as ever; for which I was truly thankful, and thought if I never saw my habitation again, I was satisfied in this gospel call and religious visit; though being in years, it was sometimes a little troublesome to the flesh; being in the sixty-sixth year of my age; and stiff in all my limbs from hurts with many falls and bruises. As to my health, I had it better now than for several years past; for which I am humbly thankful to Him, in whom we live and have our being; glory to his name, through his dear Son.

Third and Fourth days, visited several families, and had divers good opportunities: in one of those meetings, a young man named Jeremiah Martin, spoke a few words in prayer; in which season we were, I think, all broken into tenderness; so that in truth we might say, that the power and Spirit of Christ was with and among us, and his great name was praised.

Fifth day being the week-day meeting, it was larger than was ever known on a week-day in that place;

there being divers Friends who came from an island called Joseph Vandike's, and many neighbors and sober people, who were very attentive.

Sixth day was at several people's houses and had religious meetings; which we could not well avoid, the people were so loving and desirous to hear what might be spoken to them; many of them being like thirsty ground wanting rain, and our good and gracious Lord gave us celestial showers, which were refreshing to us, and thankfully received.

Seventh day I went with several Friends to the house of one who, with his wife, had been at our meeting on Fifth day; he kindly invited me to his house; his name was Blake; he and his wife were loving; and though he had formerly written against Friends, he was now better informed. From his house I went to Townsend Bishop's, and there being many Friends from another island, we had a most comfortable, tender evening meeting, in which we offered up a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to the holy name of the living eternal God, and his dear Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through the influence of the holy Spirit, one God over all blessed forever.

On the First day of the week, being the 25th of the month, we had a larger meeting than ordinary; and in expectation of larger meetings than usual, the governor, John Pickering, had made several new forms to accommodate the people at his own house, which he sent six miles on men's heads, the roads not being

passable for carts, etc. This I think worth noting that their zeal may be had in remembrance, and that others may be stirred up to more religious concern, who will scarcely go six steps to a religious meeting, or will not go at all. In this meeting I was concerned to speak of and set forth the doctrine of Christ, which he preached on the mount, contained in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew; and to press the people to come to the practice of what is there commanded by the great Author of the Christian religion; and to show that the despised Quakers had learned, out of that excellent sermon, much of their religion, which displeases many people, and divers of the great men of the world; and to urge them to regard the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men. In this meeting, Dorcas, the wife of John Pickering, spoke to the people in public testimony, to which they gave good attention.

After meeting we returned by water from the Road Harbor to Fat Hog bay, where John Pickering lives, being upwards of twenty of us in company in three cobs.

These two weeks I spent in the island of Tortola, to my great satisfaction.

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The Journal of this worthy Friend ending here, the following supplement is collected from some notes sent by a Friend of that island, giving an account of his further services, sickness and death.

## THE SUPPLEMENT.

ON the Second day of the third week of his being among us, he visited some Friends in the neighborhood, and likewise the man who had treated his wife so cruelly for coming to Friends' meetings.

ON Third day he was employed chiefly in writing to his family and friends in Philadelphia.

ON Fourth day some Friends from the Road came to see him, which prevented his going out to visit the neighbors as usual.

ON Fifth day morning, being the 29th of the Eighth month, he found himself much indisposed; yet he went to our week-day meeting, about a quarter of a mile. When the meeting broke up, he had a hot fever upon him. Doctor Turnbull, the chief physician in our island, thought it proper to take some blood from him, and he being very willing, it was done that afternoon, and the fever abated some time that night; and next day he walked about, and made no complaint until about eight o'clock in the evening. About this time the fever returned, and continued very severe till First-day morning, when the doctor advised him to take a vomit, which he declined that day, being desirous of attending the meeting which was held at my house, and was a large, sweet and tender meeting; in which he spoke to us concerning temptations, and how Christ was tempted, and how to withstand them; and afterwards on the parable of

the great supper, and other subjects; ending his testimony with the words of the apostle Paul, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness:" which words, and most part of this last sermon, were delivered in great brokenness; from whence I judged he was sensible that he had not long to live, though I believe he was not afraid to die.

On Second-day morning the fever abated a little, and he complied with the doctor's prescription of taking a vomit, which seemed to have its proper effect; but that night the fever returned, and continued on him until he died; which was between two and three o'clock on Fourth-day morning, the 4th day of the Ninth month, being speechless about seven hours before.

A general invitation was given to Friends and others to his funeral, where three testimonies were borne, all in great brokenness, under a just sense of our great loss. After which he was decently interred on the evening of the said day, in a piece of ground which is since given to Friends for a burial-place, and on which a meeting-house is built by John Pickering, the governor of the island at that time.

It is said in the Scriptures, that the righteous are taken away, and no man layeth it to heart; but I hope it may be truly said, this was not the case at this time; for Friends in general much lamented their great loss, in being so soon deprived of so in-

structive a friend and elder, whose care over us was very great; and who, by his loving and exemplary life, and tenderness to people of all ranks and professions, engaged the love and respect of almost all the people in the island. We are fully assured that his labor among us was not in vain, and that many have felt the good effects of it; so that we believe some of the last words he spoke in public may justly be applied to him, and that he now enjoys a crown of righteousness.

## GOD'S GREAT LOVE UNTO MANKIND,

THROUGH JESUS CHRIST, OUR LORD.

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And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying, This (i. e. Christ) is my beloved Son, hear ye him. — *Luke ix. 35.*

If ye love me, keep my commandments. — *John xiv. 16.*

For God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believed in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. — *John iii. 16.*

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### PREFACE.

#### TO THE READER.

IN sincerity and unfeigned love, both to God and man, were these lines penned. I desire thee to peruse them in the same love, and then, peradventure, thou mayest find some sweetness in them. Expect not learned phrases or florid expressions; for many times heavenly matter is hid in mean sentences, or wrapped up in plain expressions. It sometimes pleases God to reveal the mysteries of his kingdom, through the grace of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to babes and sucklings; and he oftentimes ordains praise out of their mouths; one of which, reader, I desire thou mayest be.

My intent in writing these sheets is, that they, through the help of God's grace and the good Spirit

of Christ, may stir up true love in thee; first to God and Christ, and then to man: so thou wilt be fit to be espoused to him, who is altogether lovely, that is Christ, which is the desire of him who is thy friend, more in heart than word.      THOMAS CHALKLEY.

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I HAVE been concerned for the good and welfare of the children of men from my youthful days, and tasted of the infinite love of God in and through his dear Son, the holy Lamb Jesus, who laid down his life for the sins of the world; and in my tender years reaped great benefit through faith in and obedience unto him. And I have found by experience, that one without the other, to wit, faith without works, will not answer the end of the great love of Christ Jesus, our Lord, who offered himself a sacrifice for all mankind; not for people to live in sin, but to take away the sin of the world. In a word, "Faith without works is dead." I found it so, and so must all true believers in the Son of God.

Christ first loved us, and paid that debt for us, which, of ourselves, we were not able to do. Oh! his infinite love hath oftentimes melted my soul into tenderness.

Methinks it is a great pity that the sons of men should requite evil for good, or disobedience for such gracious obedience. I would to God, that all believers in Christ would live in that fear of God and that love to Christ which keep the heart clean; because nothing unclean can enter the kingdom of heaven.



I do not mean a slavish fear, but fear that is wrought by love; for they who love the Lord, the great, everlasting God, will fear to offend him.

This is the matter that chiefly concerns my mind at this time: the necessity of love to God and Christ, and one another. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things that God hath prepared for them that love him." For my part I cannot pretend to tell thee, oh, man! to the full; but only a little to hint at it; it is "Joy unspeakable, and full of glory:" but then we must love him so as to keep his commandments. This is the work that I am very earnest in pressing people to, whether youth or aged: it is not too soon for the young, nor too late for the aged to begin this work of obedience, through faith and love to God and Christ, if his spirit is reproving or striving in them. But it is more honorable and acceptable for a man to give up the strength of his days to serve the Lord and to remember his Creator in the days of his youth, before sin is rooted and grown in him; for then it will be much more labor to get the root of unrighteousness plucked up.

In that ability which God hath given me, I would endeavor to stir up all to serve him, and to be in good earnest, and not to put the day of God, even the mighty Jehovah, afar off; but to love the Lord unfeignedly, and with true obedience; since that sacrifice only is acceptable to him; that is to say, to love him in deed and in truth more than in word and with

tongue. The Lord, by his servant complained against a people in old time; "They draw nigh to me with their mouths, and with their lips they do honor me:" but their great misery was, their hearts were far from him. They did not love him with their whole hearts; this was their fault: this thing is also a great evil in the sight of God in our age; and is too frequent in England, the land of my nativity, as also in other islands and places beyond the seas. What lamentation shall be taken up for such as do so mock the Lord, the great God of love? Surely he will render vengeance, as in flames of fire, upon all the wicked and ungodly, and those that forget him. It is not by saying, but by doing, that we are justified through faith in Christ; not he that saith, Lord, Lord, only, but he that doth his will also, shall enter the kingdom.

The will of God and of Christ his Son is, that we should love him above all; and in loving him, we shall love one another; for Christ saw the great need there was of loving God above all, and also of loving one another; therefore he answered thus to him that asked which was the greatest commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind."

"This," says Christ, "is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself: on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

If these two great commandments were obeyed, it

would answer God's great love to us, in sending his Son to bless us. Oh! the glory of God, how it would shine! it would make the young men as valiants of Israel, and the old men as captains of thousands; then Christ would reign gloriously indeed in the hearts of the children of men; here the Lamb and his followers, who walk in the light, and in that commandment, that burns as a lamp, would get the victory over the devil and his followers. But, on the contrary, the great error of mankind, is that they talk of God and Christ in words; but deny him in works: nay, some will not stick to say, it is impossible to keep the commandments of Christ. It is too commonly spoken, and also believed, that there is no perfection on this side the grave; contrary to the saying of Christ, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven, is perfect." Yet, say they, it is impossible; which is as much as to say, Christ is a hard master, in commanding what cannot be done; consequently, out of their own mouths they will be condemned; for Christ is not a hard master; I testify it against all such unholy and imperfect believers, in solid fear before the Lord; but according to such people's faith and belief, he must needs be hard. Oh that people would so love God and his dear Son, as to strive to do his commands; for it is impossible they should obey if they neither believe nor endeavor. Let such know, that "Many shall seek, and shall not enter;" much less shall they enter if they do not seek. But we must strive in obedience to his will,

and by his assistance, not in our own natural will, "to enter in at the strait gate:" man would enter in with all his pleasant things, and in all his bravery and gallantry; but God's will is, that he should be brought low, that he might exalt him. Oh, this self is a great enemy to mankind.

My intention is, to awaken people out of the sleep of sin, which is death, and to stir them up to righteousness, and love to the Lord and their neighbor, even with their whole heart; for this my heart breathes to, and supplicates the Lord of heaven; then would the end of my labor, in his love, be answered. Great is the love of God in sending his Son, and also in sending his servants, and stirring them up to arouse people out of the sleep of security, that they might see the danger they are in, and how near they lie to the brink of the pit of burning. Oh, that people would but seriously consider that which is showed and told them in the love of the Lord, that it might be laid to heart. Whether they will hear, or forbear, God will be clear, and his servants also will be clear. But if we not only hear, but also obey, that peace which passeth the understanding of men, and which our Lord giveth to his followers, will be our portion, and the lot of our inheritance forever; but this is on condition of our obedience, and keeping the commands of God; "If ye love me, keep my commandments," saith the Lord.

If people live in saying, and not in doing, in professing, and confessing, yet still living in pride and

high-mindedness and in sin, it is apparent they do not love Christ Jesus, according to his own words, neither doth he justify them; for it is only the doers that he will justify. The apostle John says, "If a man says he loves God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a liar;" and by plain Scripture testimony, such are not of God. Moreover, if he says he loves Christ, yet keepeth not his sayings, he is also a liar, and the truth is not in him, or Christ is not in him; who said "I am the truth;" and thus man becomes reprobate. Paul writing to the brethren, saith, "Examine yourselves, whether you be in the faith, prove your own-selves; know ye not your own-selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" Which indwelling of Christ is a great mystery to many; although Christ within which the apostles preached, is the hope of the saints' glory. And how earnest was Christ in prayer to his Father, that his followers might be one in him, and united together in one. Such is the love of Christ to his church; and what remains on the church's part, since Christ has done his part? Surely is, that we love him again; for, saith John, "He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love." They that dwell in enmity, are not the children of God, but the children of Satan, who always hated the appearance of Christ, the light of the world; and still stirreth up those who are led by his dark spirit, to war against Him and his seed in his children, who said, "I am the light of the world."

But it is as Christ hath said, "Men love darkness

rather than light;" and how strange is it, seeing the one is so glorious, and the other so miserable? The reason is as Christ hath showed, "because their deeds are evil." This is indeed the very cause; for if their deeds were good, they would love the light, Christ Jesus, the Lord of life and glory; and bring their deeds to him, that he might judge them: who will give righteous judgment to every man according to his works. The righteous will have their portion in the resurrection of life, joy and peace in the Holy Ghost; but the wicked in the resurrection of damnation. Oh! that I might be instrumental in the hand of the Lord to open the eyes of some who are spiritually blind, that they might see the beauty and the great glory of the dear Son of God, that most excellent light whom God hath prepared, according to good old Simeon's testimony of him. "Thou hast, says he, prepared him a light to enlighten the gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel." A glorious light indeed! Truly, methinks everybody should be in love with him. For my part, He is my chiefest joy. I would not part with him for all the pomp and vain-glory of the world; neither would I have the shining beams and glorious rays, which comfort me for well doing, and discover and reprove me for the contrary, clouded from my sight and understanding, for the finest gold, or choicest rubies. Such is my love to Christ, the bridegroom of souls; but by the way, it hath cost me many a tear, and many groanings in my spirit, before I came thus to enjoy Christ, who is

the beloved of all the redeemed. May I never give him cause to withdraw himself from dwelling in me. Oh! the universal love of Christ: it is everlasting to them that are open-hearted unto him, and to all that will hear his voice, so as to obey it; for, says he, "I stand at the door and knock," that is the door of the heart of man; "if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." And John says, "And we have known and believed the love that God hath to us: God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." A heavenly habitation and glorious dwelling-place! Who would not endeavor to dwell in love, and forsake enmity, that they might attain unto such eternal happiness, as to have their abode with the Lord.

This fulfilleth the words of Christ: "For he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." How was he to be in them? A comforter for well-doing, that they might have the hope of glory; and a reprover for sin, self-righteousness, and wrong judgment. Indeed it was the great love of God in thus sending his beloved Son, a light into this dark world, to show people their evil deeds, and to condemn sin in the flesh: for he is the sinful world's condemnation, as well as a Saviour and justifier of the righteous and holy believer. The Jews of old hated him, and many of them did intend to darken his bright and shining light; but some of the Jews believed on him, and after they came truly to believe on his name, spread his gospel of truth and

glad tidings amongst the children of men, and also suffered for his name's sake. It is also said, "He came unto his own, and his own received him not; but as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name." But many of those that call themselves by his name, trample upon his light and appearance, and despise the spirit of his grace, which is a swift witness against evil, and lets men see what is good, and what is bad, comforts for the one, and brings judgment and condemnation for the other. I can truly say, I would with my whole heart, that God did dwell a comforter in all, or Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or Holy Spirit, which are all one, but this can never be, while sin remains and has an evil root in mankind. "An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit." By this we may know Christians from anti-christians, and lovers of Christ from them that love him not: if we love him we become subjects to him, subject to do his will. It is a dignified station to be subjects of the King of heaven, and if we love him unfeignedly, with all our might and mind, and our neighbors as ourselves, and with the sword of the Spirit valiantly encounter the devil, then shall we be his subjects, and Christ will receive us into his warfare, and through him we shall be victorious, for the Lamb and his followers will have the victory. I would press people in love into this warfare, having commission from my Master and Lord, by showing them what anxiety and distress of mind they will



procure to themselves, by living in enmity to the Lord and his saints. Oh! my soul, I charge thee with all those that have any regard to the holy Jesus, obey the commands of the Lord, and love his followers, or thy neighbor as thyself. Let his universal spirit of love to all dwell in thee.

I would have all to cast down at his footstool, that which they glory in, that is not right in his sight, and do like the poor penitent woman, who lay and wept at his feet. She thought all, little enough to part with to get into his favor. Christ himself was meek and lowly; "Learn of me," said he. All power in heaven and earth was given unto him; "Take me, said he, for an example;" when he washed his servants' feet. Seeing his love was so great to them and is also to us, let us love him again, not with feigned love, but with love that may manifest us to be his followers; and in it let us love one another; for this intent our Lord issued forth his royal command, which is this, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another, as I have loved you that ye also love one another: by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love for one another." Christ's love was unfeigned to his disciples, nay, to all the world in general: for what greater love can there be, than for a man to lay down his life for his friend; and he not only laid down his life for his friends, but for his enemies also. So that his love was great and unfeigned; we ought with the same love to love him again, since he loved us first;

and this cannot be without obedience to his commands. Thus we should love him and one another with true love, which is exceedingly precious; it thinks no evil, and we may be sure will not do any willingly or knowingly. If a man seeth his neighbor or brother in that which is not right, he prayeth to the Lord to help him, and tenderly admonisheth him; yea, if having this love, he woundeth, his wounds are faithful, for "Faithful are the wounds of a friend."

He that is thus endued with love, is not hindered from reproving his brother, but if there be a cause, it rather stirs him up to be faithful therein, without respect of persons. The love that is raised in them that love the Lord above all, is great to the sons and daughters of men: it doth wonderful things; it is valiant for God; it overcomes its enemies: it is not overcome with evil, but it often overcomes evil with good: it smiteth sin in the gate, that is, in its first appearance, before it be entered into man, so as to subject him thereunto; it gets victory over the devil; for he cannot stand before God's love. I would to God that people did but know the virtue of love to Christ, and one another in him; it would cause them, for the enjoyment thereof, to forsake all manner of enmity one against another, and all things else, how near or dear soever; yea, though they were as a right hand or a right eye, they would be forsaken for its sake, and for the sake of Him who first loved us. Then we should strive, through the ability of his grace, even the grace or spirit which he told Paul

was sufficient for him, to love him again, and our neighbor as ourself; but this cursed self is loved too much and our neighbor too little.

Paul, the apostle of Christ, after his conversion, did not hate his neighbors, nor was he in enmity with them. When he was Saul, he oppressed and injured his nearest neighbors and chief friends; for his blind zeal was part of that body of sin and death that was upon him, and from which, by the help of Christ's grace, he was delivered, and came to love his enemies, and for their good hazarded his life; and, for his love to Christ, laid it down, as many holy martyrs have done since. Surely they had not much regard for self, then! It is a common expression nowadays, "Every one for himself, and God for us all;" but if every one were for his neighbor or his brother, as much as for himself, God would be more for us all. This self-love is an abomination in the sight of the Lord, and the great eternal God abhors it; therefore were the first and second commandments given forth, and if all people would obey these, the whole law and the prophets, yea, and the gospel too, would be fulfilled.

Self-love is a great enemy to man, and very much hinders his eternal happiness; it shutteth the ear from hearing the cause of the widow and fatherless, or of the needy, and drowns the cry of the oppressed; to which we ought not only to lend an ear, but also to administer relief according to their necessity and our ability. Mankind are too apt to join with that which is pleasant to the eye and agreeable

to the lust of the heart; like Dives, the rich glutton of old, who loved self better than poor Lazarus, but do not consider that which is lasting, and would do them good forever. How shall I express the excellent glory and eternal sweetness of this love to the Lord and our neighbor? Oh! how is my soul grieved, and how doth my spirit mourn before the Lord, when I see any walk contrary to the commands of Christ, or who are in enmity to the truth, and in hatred one to another, even from my tender years, ever since God Almighty opened my understanding, and made known to me Him that is true. And my cry hath been many times to him, to keep and preserve me in his true love and fear, to the end of my days; in love both to him and to the brethren, more especially to those that do his will, although there is universal love in my heart to all. Christ said, "For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." Therefore my love is more singly unto those. The apostle also thus writes concerning love to the brethren: "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren; he that loveth not his brother, abideth in death." Are they then in death that are at enmity with the brethren? Assuredly they are, for this enmity is sin; "And the wages of sin is death;" and those that are therein, are dead while they live. I wish and heartily pray to the God and Father of spirits, that from the snares of death his people may forever be preserved.

Some people are too apt to judge one another, and to speak evil of things they know not, except by report and supposition, which too often lets in enmity, and is not according to the mind of Christ, but is a snare of the enemy of man's salvation. Surely if people were sensible thereof, they would not so hardly censure one another; for indeed we ought to be well satisfied before we give judgment, and then it ought to be in love, and not in enmity. It is better to suffer than to censure; to be judged than to judge. "Judge not, that ye be not judged," said the Judge of heaven and earth. But people are too much possessed with uncharitableness and revenge one towards another, and are not so ready to forgive one another their trespasses, as the Almighty is to forgive them: though to forgive one another their trespasses be every Christian's duty, without which we cannot justly expect God to forgive us our trespasses, as Christ taught.

Persecution for righteousness' sake also is another branch of that corrupt tree, which never did, and never will bring forth good fruit, but must be cut down by the axe of God's power, which is laid to the root of every corrupt tree in order to cut it down; and the Lord will burn it with unquenchable fire. It is the true church's lot to be persecuted, but she never persecutes any; for He that is her High Priest forever, commanded quite the contrary, viz. : Love to enemies, and to do good to them that hated them, to pray for them that despitefully used and persecuted

them. They were also to rejoice, and to be exceedingly glad when all manner of evil was spoken falsely against them for Christ's sake; because great should be their reward in heaven; and Christ observes, that so they persecuted the prophets.

Many are rebelling against God, and doing despite to the spirit of grace in their own hearts, and trespassing one against another, not living in love, but in enmity against God and one another. The judgment of man is terrible to the rebellious, how much more if men rebel against God our Saviour, will his judgment be just and dreadful, as he hath not only power to kill the body, but can afterwards cast the soul into hell! Oh! that the sons and daughters of men would but fear to offend him, the King of eternal glory. Israel of old, his own peculiar people, did fear and tremble before him; even all their host, his presence was so dreadful. And a noble king made a decree, that men should fear and tremble before the living God.

Oh! that all would work out their salvation with fear and trembling, according to Scripture testimony, and as people truly love the Lord, they would fear exceedingly to offend him; also if one man did truly love another, he would very unwillingly offend him. So if we love Christ in deed and in truth, we should fear to offend him, and must of necessity love one another also: so shall we fulfil the great commands, that the whole law and the prophets hang on.

I have many times been grieved, when I have

heard cursing and swearing, and the Lord's name taken in vain, which too much abound; and such too little consider that God will not hold them guiltless. This is far from obeying him. The deep sense of this great sin is a deep concern on my mind; vengeance from heaven is, and will be the portion of all such who thus violate the mind and will of God. Judgment, judgment is the lot and inheritance of all the wicked who remain and live in wickedness. Although the Lord is slow to anger, and of great loving-kindness, and his mercy endureth forever to them that truly repent of evil, and do that which is good, yet he has also prepared weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth for them that continually live in sin. There is a possibility of sinning until there is no more mercy or grace for man: witness the words of God: "My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh." But those who are willing to put the day of God afar off, are ready to say, Christ is our advocate with the Father; he maketh intercession for our sins; very well, but it is conditionally, it is if thou wilt repent and sin no more. Mark that well; repentance without sinning no more will not do. Confession is very good, but forsaking sin is abundantly better: confession without forsaking will stand in little stead in the day of account.

Drunkenness is a great sin, first against God, and secondly, the abuse of God's mercies and good creatures; and by it men are often fitted for any business

their master the devil may call them to: so that this great sin ought to be strictly watched against. Surely if men had any good desires in their hearts, or any love to God, they would refrain from such great wickedness. I admire how people can expect mercy from God, or the intercession of Christ, when by their sins they are piercing his sides, and putting him to open shame. How can such expect he will intercede for them, when they have dealt so shamefully with him, and grieved him, and from time to time disobeyed his voice? Suppose a man stood condemned before a judge, and that at the judge's right hand there sat one in power, whom this poor condemned person hopes will intercede for him; and yet the poor wretch does to him as before mentioned. What grounds can he have to hope for intercession, clemency, or lenity, while he believes he can do no otherwise than sin against him all his days? For my part, I think his faith, hope, and belief are but vain; without any reason or ground. But he that loveth Christ Jesus, the Lord of life and glory, so as to keep his commandments, the Lord will love him, and intercede for him, and make himself known unto him; according to his words which he spake, "He that hath my commandments, and keeps them, he it is that loveth me, and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and manifest myself unto him."

Covetousness, which is idolatry, is also another great snare of the enemy, and many are caught



therein. It is in vain for the covetous to say, he hath a share in the love of God; for he hath neither love to the Lord, nor to his neighbor. A poor naked man might ask him long enough for relief, or for his coat, before he would give him his hand to help, or coat either; or any manner of relief; although Christ expressly commanded, "Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow, turn not thou away." How can any be so hard-hearted, as to see his brother's or his neighbor's poverty, and not administer of his ability to the necessity of the needy? The covetous or miserable man may say, I have children, or a family to take care of; yet too often covetousness brings a curse, and not a blessing, upon family and children also. Perhaps some may say, that charity begins at home. But let him remember, that if it doth begin there, the consequence most commonly is very bad when it ends there. Every Christian hath need to have charity in a twofold sense, or else there is no proper pretence to Christianity: in short, covetousness is out of the love either to God or man.

All these, with abundance more, that I shall forbear to mention, are eminent snares of the devil; and he layeth them according to the propensity of man or woman, and suits them to their nature. He colors them finely, and puts a pleasant gloss upon them to betray the soul, and keep it in bondage forever.

It is he that tells the murderer, the thief, and the

robber, that it is better to live a merry life and short than to take pains and care all one's lifetime.

It is he also who tells the whoremongers and drunkards, that so many people are in these practices, because it is natural for people to be so overcome: but he doth not tell them that by nature all are children of wrath, and that without this lustful nature be overcome, there is no salvation.

It is he that tells the swearers, they are so used to it, that it is impossible for them to leave it off. He never bids them repent and forsake, that they might find mercy with God and Christ that died for them; but died not that they should live in sin.

It is the devil tells the covetous it is good to be saving, and not to spend all his substance in gluttony and pride; he will bid him hate pride, and that he should not give much alms, though rich in this world, for that proud people do it only in ambition, and to be seen of men: but he will not tell him, it is a sin to be covetous. He also tells the proud that they are counted happy, and that pride is counted good for promoting the commonwealth, and that it is as good to be out of the world as out of the fashion; he tells them that pride is neatness; and it is admirable how many pretty excuses he has, to keep people in pride. He does not tell them that Christ, the Lord, was meek and lowly, and that they should take him for an example. He, the Lord, did not come in splendor and glory, outwardly, but plain in speech and also in apparel, being clothed and adorned with the robes

of righteousness and love. This is my beloved ! may he be ~~shine~~ shine also, gentle reader. Oh ! how lovely is he ! he is the chiefest of tens of thousands. Oh ! ye children of men, both sons and daughters ! do not offend Christ, by disobeying him, the bridegroom of the righteous ; but I beseech you, in his sweet and tender love, if you have offended him by sinning against him, oh ! for the Lord's sake, and your own soul's sake, do so no more ; but unfeignedly repent ; and then in his time, when he hath tried you, and found you faithful, he will embrace you with the sweet embraces of his love.

If the poor creature did but love the Lord its Maker above all, and its fellow-creature as itself, the enemy of mankind would be overcome, and we be made more than conquerors, through him that loved us, even Christ Jesus, our Lord ; and man and woman would see all those evil things to be abominable, and many more which I have not mentioned, insomuch that self would be abhorred as in dust and ashes, and the Lord would be loved and glorified above all, for which end he created mankind. But certain it is, that this end cannot be answered, nor the Lord so loved, without sin be forsaken and hated ; for the devil is the author of sin, and Christ of righteousness.

Christ says, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." And again, "I am the light of the world." Oh ! saith my soul, in love and good-will to the sons and daughters of men, that they would but walk in the way of truth, and in the true light of the world ;

then they would see clearly the snares of Satan ; which that every one, especially those that profess Christianity, may do, and escape the same, is the very desire of my soul : even so prayeth he, who through the spirit of Jesus Christ, and the ability of his grace, labors for the salvation of mankind.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

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*An Exhortation to Youth and Others, being Part of a Letter from Thomas Chalkley to a Friend in Dublin.*

LET the young men and maidens diligently read the holy Scriptures ; and whenever they come to a passage that affects them, let them not only turn down that leaf, but let them be sure that it hath place in their hearts : and when they read of a good man or woman, let them earnestly pray and fervently cry to the Lord, the great God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and God of the righteous in all ages, that he would please to make them like those his dear children and servants. Oh ! that young people might not forget this great command of God, " Honor thy parents, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." How many stubborn youths hath the Lord cut off in their prime, and in the flower of their days ; and on the other hand, how hath the Almighty blessed, prospered, preserved, and honored those who have been obedient

to their parents, and honored them and their elders? And let the young men and maidens note this, that none truly honor their parents and elders, but those who are pious and virtuous; such were Joseph, Samuel, David, and Solomon; as also King Josiah, who began to reign at eight years old. God Almighty gives to many a sense of his grace at that age, and thereabouts; he ordaineth praise many times out of the mouths of babes and sucklings. Let the youth endeavor to follow those good and great men; and for their instruction, I shall say something of the above five worthies.

First, in particular, beginning with Joseph. His father sent him to his brethren; he went willingly, though his brethren hated him; and when it was in his power to hurt them, he rendered them good for their evil; a good example for both young and old. And when tempted to sin by his mistress in Egypt, he said, "How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?" who highly favored him for his piety, virtue, and chastity.

Secondly, Samuel, for whom his mother prayed earnestly to the Lord; and when he had given him to her, she gave him to God again: a good pattern for all mothers. When he was but a little lad, the Almighty called him, and he thought it had been Eli; and said, "Thou calledst me?" "No," said the old man, "I did not call thee; lie down again." He did not grumble, as many of our youth do: when the Lord called again, he willingly ran to Eli; he did not

love his bed so much as obedience, and said, "Thou didst call me;" Eli observing that God had spoken to the child, said to him, "When he calleth again, say, 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.'" Let old ones mind this, and encourage their youth to answer the call of God betimes: God called again, and he answered, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." The Lord, by his grace, calls to little ones, many times in the midst of their play, and sometimes in their beds. Oh! that our youth may do and say as little Samuel; that they may grow as he did, and be in favor both with God and man.

Thirdly, David, his father's youngest son, kept his sheep, and in that innocent employ the Lord was with him. His father sent him to his brethren; but Eliab, his eldest brother, frowned upon him, and reviled him. He only made this soft reply; "Is there not a cause?" He overcame the great Philistine, in the name of the God of Israel; and God highly exalted him for his uprightness, sincerity, and piety, which were very great; for notwithstanding Saul would have killed him, yet when David had him in his power, he spared him, insomuch that Saul wept, and said, "If a man find his enemy, will he let him go?" And there was loving greeting between them: so he overcame the evil of Saul's heart, by the good that was in his, according to those holy expressions of the apostle Paul, "Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good." Words worthy to be written in letters of gold, and more worthy to be observed and practised.

Fourthly, Solomon, who asked of God wisdom, being in his own eyes but as a little child, said unto the Lord, "Give unto thy servant an understanding heart:" which request God granted him, and gave him also riches and honor. Oh! see the benefit of pleasing God, young men and young women.

Fifthly, Josiah, a young prince and king. How zealous was he for God's service and worship! What a wonderful reformation he made in the land, and how was he lamented at his death, as generally all good and zealous men and women are, whether old or young.

Having touched a little upon the young men, let me remember the young women also: as for example; Ruth and Abigail, two discreet young women; the first very loving, kind, and true to Naomi, her mother-in-law: a good pattern for all daughters-in-law: "Entreat me not," said she, "to leave thee; for where thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: and where thou diest, there will I be buried; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God;" and the Lord abundantly rewarded her for this godly resolution. Boaz had a sense of her virtue and piety, and said, "All the city of my people do know, that thou art a virtuous woman." Which doubtless was a strong motive for him to love her; and that love commonly lasts till death: whereas when money is a motive, it often happens that many evils attend.

Consider also wise Abigail, her ingenious speech to David, and contrivance to hinder him from shedding

blood ; which he was coming to do, thinking he had cause, but was prevented by her wisdom. This was a great motive to him to love her, after Nabal's death, and to take her to wife. She was no proud woman ; "For," said she, "let thy handmaid serve to wash the feet of the servants of my lord."

As there are many good examples in holy Scripture, whereby young people might be stirred up to virtue ; so also there are examples of the judgments of God on disobedient, impious, vain, and ungodly men and women, even young and old. Let our youth consider, I beseech them, wicked, disobedient Absalom, and poor Dinah : also the prince and the Moabitish damsel, whom zealous Phineas slew ; for God was angry, and is angry with the wicked every day.

The before-mentioned good men and women were in the time of the law ; and let me add to them, the holy pattern and good example of our great Lord and blessed master, who loved righteousness, and hated wickedness, therefore he was highly exalted, and anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows : he had the heathen given him for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession : and what is more, all power in heaven and earth.

Oh ! dear young men and maidens ! He is our great pattern, whom we ought to take for our example ; walking in all humility and reverence : Christ saith, "He that will be my disciple, that is his scholar, must take up his cross, deny himself, and follow me." Oh ! blessed pattern ! Oh ! glorious example ! let us follow



him whilst we have breath; for it is always well for them that follow him. What think ye, young men and maidens! had it not been well for that rich young man, had he left all, and followed dear Jesus: be ye your own judges; look on your pattern Christ Jesus, when he was but twelve years old; see what he was doing, forget not that saying which his mother laid up in her heart, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" I can say, through some experience, it is good business. Let me tell you for your edification, I have served my master, holy Jesus, and followed him several years according to the best of my understanding, and I have always found him a good master; his service is sweet, and his work is delightful. I have a great deal more to say for my Lord and Master, but my design is brevity: "His yoke is easy, and his burthen is light." He hath said it, and I have experienced it. Wherefore I am the more free to invite you to follow him, and be his scholars. An eminent servant and scholar of his said, "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." The apostle Paul exhorts Timothy, a young scholar, and his son in the faith, to be a good example to others; as also his son Titus. We are also told of four young women, who were prophetesses, and divers others; a more particular account of whose exemplary lives and actions is recorded in the holy Scripture for our learning; unto which, with the grace of God in the heart, I recommend all young men and women, and conclude this small token of my very dear

love in Christ, our holy Lord and master, desiring the above may be as so many patterns for them to follow.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

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*A Loving Invitation to Young and Old, in Holland and elsewhere, to seek and love Almighty God, and to prepare in time for their Eternal Welfare.*

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#### PREFACE.

HAVING from my childhood been a lover of the Dutch, and that love being increased by travelling in Holland and Germany, it came weightily on my mind to invite and persuade this people, with others into whose hands this may come, and especially the youth, to love, serve, and fear the Lord, the Almighty, the great Jehovah, and that they first seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness, as Christ exhorts or commands. Those weighty expressions, with the large promise thereto annexed, are well worth the due notice and consideration of all, both youth and aged; but seem to be very apt to the condition of those that are just entering into the affairs of the world. Oh! that the youth had but faith in the blessed Lord Jesus, and owned his pure doctrine, now in their tender years; and in the prime of their days. "That they would remember their Creator in the days of their youth, before the evil days come;" that in their

blooming spring time, they might be like lovely branches, and growing trees of righteousness, bearing much good fruit of piety and virtue; in which, saith our Lord Jesus Christ, "Is your heavenly Father glorified." This is the real and hearty desire of my soul, for the youth of this and all generations, in all nations throughout the world: the universal love of God flows in my soul, like a living stream, to all my fellow-mortals. The great love of God in Christ Jesus, our Lord and Master, is abundantly and universally shed abroad to all nations, through his eternal Spirit and grace in the hearts of the sons and daughters of men, in order to draw, lead, and guide men and women from earth to heaven.

Being desirous, according to my measure, to promote truth and righteousness in the earth, and having been sensible of the love, mercy, and goodness of God, in my very young and tender years, I am willing, for the sake of well inclined young men and women, to send this loving invitation: and am desirous that it might be translated into the Dutch language; hoping it may be beneficial to some well inclined souls, to stir them up to seek, serve, and love Almighty God. Amen.

So wisheth and heartily prayeth, a friend to, and lover of all mankind.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

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It is a thing truly excellent for mortals to love, serve, and fear Him that made them, and gave unto all life and being: and to begin this work betimes, is

very advantageous to the never-dying soul. It is an indispensable duty, which is incumbent upon every one, male and female ; and whoever is found in the neglect thereof, will certainly have cause to repent it ; and unless they repent before they go hence, and see man no more, will be miserable to all eternity. This solid consideration hath often been weighty on my mind, and I could not be clear, as I thought, in the sight of God, without laying it before men and women.

Truth commands us, reason persuades us, and example is very powerful and inviting, that the children of men would be wise to salvation, and embrace the love of God in his dear and well beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who himself said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." Oh ! surely here is a three-fold cord, *i. e.*, truth, reason, and example, which is not easily broken : God Almighty grant, for Christ's sake, that by it poor souls may be drawn to him, even now in their tender years. To-day, to-day, if any will hear the voice of the Lord, let them not harden their hearts ; for that is provoking to him that made us. How know we whether He who made the heavens, will be pleased to give us another hour ? How know we, but that after this day we may never open our eyes, till we open them in eternity ? Oh ! eternity, eternity, that boundless ocean ! who can fathom those words, forever and ever ? What will this world and all its glories and vanities signify, or avail to poor souls, when lying on a dying-bed ?

It will therefore be well for both old and young to note this :

First; The old, because it is not likely they should have many days, according to the course of nature and a common proverb, *i. e.*, the young may die, but the old must die.

Second; The young, because they know not but that they may die to-morrow.

In the great and notable day of the Most High, heavenly things will be found serious and solid truths, and not toys and trifles, nor indifferent; when he shall come as in flames of fire, to render vengeance, which is his only, upon all the workers of iniquity, and shall come to judge the secrets of all hearts by that great and just Judge, the Lord Jesus Christ.

Wherefore, let me prevail with some poor souls, now in time, to lay the truth to heart, and to be found in the work of God in their day; that so for their pains here, they may receive their penny hereafter; and that enlivening, that quickening answer of "well done," may be their portion, and the glorious lot of their inheritance: "Come, ye blessed; well done, good and faithful servant: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Oh! powerful voice, and heart-ravishing sentence! enough to make one alive, though dead; and exceedingly joyful, though sorrowful even to death. This divine favor and grace, wherewith the Most High will favor those that love him and faithfully serve him, in that great and notable day, will far exceed the favor of kings and princes: for those that get the latter, can only be happy, or so accounted, in this world, which is but momentary; and those

who are living and sensible witnesses of the former, are certainly happy, even in this world, although men may not see it, and likewise everlastingly happy in that world which is to come. To be sensible of God's grace in the heart, and to follow the holy teaching of it, is preferable to all things here below, it will make one more wise and more comely, than all outward learning, beauty, or parts whatever. God Almighty grant, I beseech him, that all our young men, our rich men, our wise men, may glory only in him, according to the language of the Spirit in the holy Scriptures, "Let not the young or strong man glory in his youth or strength, nor the rich man in his riches, nor the wise man in his wisdom; but he who glories, let him glory in the Lord;" or in this, "That he knows the Lord." Let the wits of the age consider this well; let the boaster and disputer rightly note this, and he will have cause to bow before heaven's Majesty. What becomes of the young man's and young woman's strength and lovely beauty, when their heads are laid in the cold grave? What will become of, or of what service to him will be, the riches of the rich man, when he shall receive his summons to his long home? May he not then say, Oh! that I had been as industrious to get heaven and peace with my Maker, as I have been to get this world. Let all worldly-minded men and women remember the expostulation of Christ Jesus with the rich young man. This is not to hinder any in their outward concerns: for the heart of a man may be in heaven, though his hands may be in his employment.

And as to the wise man : pray, what will become of his great wit, his acquired parts, his arguments and criticisms, when pale-faced death shall look him in the face, and strike him with his sharp arrow? Then he will find, that it had been much better for him, had he lived well, although he had not talked so much, or so well. To talk well, is good ; but to live well is much better. To talk finely, and live badly, is of little worth. Oh ! that the great Master workman of all, may drive home this nail, in the heart of him whose eye shall look thereon, by his mighty hammer, the hammer of his word, his heart-breaking, heart-melting, and heart-piercing word ; according to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the holy Scriptures, "Is not my word as a fire? Is not my word as a hammer? Is not my word as a sword?" i. e., to burn, to break, to cut down all manner of sin : not to destroy man, but sin in man. Hear further the language of the Holy Spirit : "Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend up into heaven, to fetch it down from above? Or who shall go down into the deep, or beyond the seas, to fetch it from thence? But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, in thy heart, and in thy mouth that thou mayest do it." This was, and is, and ever will be, the doctrine of the gospel ; from which people may perceive that Christ Jesus is near to them ; near to save, near to deliver, near to redeem. The great Jehovah, the blessed Jesus, the holy divine Spirit, is not a God afar off, but a God near at hand, and a present and sure help in the needful time. Oh ! blessed be his name forever and ever.

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I appeal to the consciences of all men, whether they have not, or do not sensibly witness something of a nature contrary to sin and unrighteousness, to reprove them and convince them of the evil of their ways and doings, perhaps sometimes in the midst of their vanity, in the song, in the dance, or in the game; or sometimes after a debauch, or for their pride, either in mind or in apparel, for overreaching, or covetousness; all which, with all manner of evils, are of the devil. And the King of heaven is lifting up his holy and righteous spirit as a standard against it, and against him who is the author of it. Let this his convincing grace take place in thy heart, oh mortal man! for know of a truth, it is the grace of God to thy soul; for infallible proof of which, besides the experience of the faithful, take these two texts of holy Scripture, the doctrine of which will stand forever, notwithstanding all the opposition of man: "I will pray the Father, says Christ, and he will send you another comforter, even the Spirit of truth, that he may abide with you forever; and when he is come, he shall convince the world of sin." Again, "The grace of God which brings salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world." Why should the Almighty show to men the evil of their ways? Why does he not let them run on in their vanities, without control? Oh, ye children of men! it is his mere grace and mercy to the precious, dear-bought, and



never dying souls of poor mortal mankind; for he would have none to perish. If any perish, their destruction is of themselves, but their help is of the Lord. Oh! that people would be entreated and persuaded, through loving invitation, to follow the Lord fully, and do his work faithfully.

I humbly beg of the Lord, the great God, and Father of spirits, and of our dear Lord Jesus, that this may be instrumental, in his hand, to draw some poor seeking, travailing soul from earth towards heaven; the which, if it doth, let the praises be given to God alone, through his well beloved Son.

First, then: As to truth, I would hope few in this generation, who profess Christianity, need to say, What is truth? God Almighty, Christ Jesus, the Holy Spirit, is that infinite, divine truth, which will endure forever; and he hath said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength." He is richly worthy thereof: this is his law which is to endure forever; and he who doth and teacheth it, is to be called great in the kingdom of God; and that it might not be forgotten, he wrote it on stony tables; which law, Jacob's seed broke and transgressed. Wherefore, thus saith the Lord, who spoke by the prophet, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts." There it is written in large characters, very plain and legible, and easy to be read of mankind. Moses, the man of God, was an instrument to promote the law outwardly, written on tables of

stone, among the children of Israel: so Christ Jesus, in this gospel-day, is promoting and proclaiming the power of this law inwardly engraven in men's hearts by God's finger, throughout the whole world. This great law of love, in which all the law and the prophets are contained, Christ not only lived in, and declared to mortals, but he also died in it, and for us sealed his holy, glorious testimony and doctrine with his most precious blood. This is he, of whom the voice from the most excellent glory said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." This is he, of whom the former lawgiver said, "The Lord your God shall raise up a prophet from amongst your brethren, him shall ye hear in all things." This is he who said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." This is he who said, "He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you:" and again, "I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him and sup with him, and he with me." His love is wonderful; he not only commands obedience, but invites to it. Who can be so hard-hearted, and so cruel to him and themselves also, as to slight and refuse such heavenly offers of infinite love, grace, and mercy? The Spirit and the bride say, Come; and all that are athirst may come and drink freely, and buy heavenly milk and rich wine, without money or any outward price.

Secondly, Touching reason: it is very reasonable that we should serve and love God Almighty, in the space of time that we have in this world, and

work the works of piety and virtue, because there is solid peace therein : here none can make afraid, but the soul is calm and quiet, being anchored in a safe harbor. Here no law can take hold of us. If any should imagine that there are no future rewards or punishments, which no mortal can do without blushing or self-condemnation, as I conceive ; yet a life of holiness is a much better life, even for the body, for its health and most sweet repose, and for pleasure that is solid, and not flashy ; and for its outward tranquillity in every respect. I appeal to the reasoning wits of the age, whether the above be not a great and undeniable truth : besides, all true men and women, in practising as above, have a living hope and faith, through and in Christ, of a glorious rest in eternity, which is very reasonable to believe. Christ wrought such wonderful works and mighty miracles, which before were never wrought by man on earth ; so that those must needs be self-condemned that believe not in him, his works and grace. There is no writ nor wit in the whole world, that can, or ever will be able to make void, or lay waste the mighty and miraculous works of truth, which were done by the blessed Jesus. Moses was a mighty man of God, and highly favored and greatly beloved of him, and did many mighty works ; yet Christ exceeded him, as also did his dispensation. Moses went through the sea : Christ went upon the sea. Moses prayed for bread from heaven, and it was given in abundance ; Christ with a few small fishes and seven

loaves, fed many thousands, which was unreasonable to expect, but from a divine hand. Moses prayed for water for the people: Christ made wine, and admirable wine too, even of water. Moses preached the law and judgment to Israel only; but Christ Jesus preached grace, mercy, peace, and truth, not only to Israel, but also to all the world, through divine faith in God, in and through repentance, and the work of the Spirit. Oh! is not here reason and truth pleading with, and persuading poor creatures to love, serve, and follow, reverence and fear their Creator?

It is likely some such doctrine as this might better please the sparks of the age, and the jolly young men and maidens up and down in the world, viz., "Rejoice, oh! young man and young woman, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth; follow the desire of thy heart, and the sight of thine eyes." But let them remember, that for all these things God will bring them to judgment: they must surely come to judgment. They will have it inwardly and secretly in their hearts, here in this world, notwithstanding they may endeavor to hide it from men; but they cannot hide it from Heaven, from the all-seeing, heart-piercing eye of the Holy One: "He who inhabits eternity, whose dwelling is in the light; and whose eye goes through the earth, beholding the good and the evil;" sees them at all times, and without repentance they will have condemnation without end, in the world that is to come. Let the youth and aged seriously consider it.

And further, let them call to mind the great and heavy judgments that have fallen upon wicked and ungodly men, many of which were foretold by the messengers of heaven, and came to pass according to their sayings, viz., the flood of waters, which destroyed the old world, which the very Indians in America have a notable idea of, handed down to them by the tradition of their fathers to this day. The destruction of the land and inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the thousands of thousands that have been destroyed in battles, which will still be, and continue to the world's end, unless people come into the love of God, which will teach them to love one another, and into the faith and doctrine of the Prince of Peace, which is, "To do unto all men, as we would have them do unto us," and to "do good for evil;" which to be sure is not to destroy. Likewise the destruction of Jerusalem and scattering of the Jews, the seed of faithful Abraham; and divers terrible earthquakes, which have happened in these latter ages of the world; some of the dreadful ruins of which I have seen in my travels. Surely there is much reason to walk in reverence and holy fear before the great Lord of all: he who made the heavens and the earth, the seas and the fountains of water, and hath given life and breath to all that move therein, can take it from them at his pleasure, in the twinkling of an eye.

Oh! happy are all those who live and dwell in the holy fear of God, and in the self-denying life of Jesus:

no greater happiness or felicity than to be one of these. Let my soul dwell here, and be in unity and fellowship with all such forever.

As to the third and last part of the argument, viz., example; which, as the proverb says, is above precept. Good example is very taking with many, and often happens to be very affecting to the younger sort more particularly: for they look out much at others, and take great notice of the words and conduct of their elders and superiors. Jacob was a good example to his great family: he was a pious affectionate father, a loving husband, a faithful servant, and an obedient son: the history of his life and travels in holy Scripture is affecting. He sought God betimes; and how humble, how lowly did he behave himself in his pilgrimage! his father and mother called him, and bid him go; he does it without any replies to the contrary; not like some of the youth of this age. Being benighted on his way, he lays himself down; his pillow was hard, but his bed large, and the heavens were his curtains; his sleep was sweet, and his dream precious. In which sleep he sees angels; and when he awakes, he says, "Surely, this is none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven." The condition of his covenant with his Maker, as to outward things, was as small as well could be, viz., Bread to eat, and raiment to put on, and the presence of his Maker, with his blessing. This was when he was about to set up for himself in the world: his mind was not high, neither sought he after great

things; notwithstanding which, the Almighty gave him abundance. So onward he went, and came to Laban, and became his servant. I could wish that all young people, who are servants, would follow his steps in faithfulness, then might they be a blessing to their masters, as he was to his. I ever observed in my travels, having travelled much in divers nations, and made many observations, that Almighty God hath greatly blessed obedient, industrious children and servants; which observation I hope will be of good use to the world, if well considered. And on the other hand, I have taken notice of the contrary, and have perfectly understood, that God's hand hath been manifestly against those who have been disobedient and ill-natured and idle; which may be an useful caution to all. The Lord blessed the good service and faithful industry of this his servant with great increase; as also with many children, for whom he was concerned even to the very last; and like a pious and godly father, prayed to the Lord for their preservation, and was zealously concerned to cleanse his family from superstition and idolatry; and call them to go up to Bethel, the house of God. Oh! that all heads of families would be concerned for their posterity, and seek God and the things of his kingdom, for their children and servants, more than the things of this world; there being too much care for the one and too little for the other, generally speaking; so that there is need of this caution. This good man was not only concerned for his family in his life, but

even at his death also: waiting for the salvation of God, and being sensible of it, he very livingly and sensibly blessed his seed, and was opened in faith to speak exactly to each of their states and conditions. I refer to the history of it in holy Scripture, the which I believe will be affecting to pious minds. What a race he left behind! all his twelve sons were patriarchs, and fathers of many people, who were highly favored of God, and had been to this day, had they walked in the steps of their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; from whom came many valiant and noble men for God; as Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Josiah, Elijah, and Elisha; also the holy blessed Star and Sun of righteousness, Holy Jesus, whom the degenerate offspring of good old Israel slew and hanged on a tree. The holy apostles also were great examples of virtue; as well as the blessed martyrs, and many modern good men might be brought in for inviting examples, to stir up the minds of men and women, to serve, love, and follow the Lord, and to believe in him, and in his dear Son, and in the appearance of his grace working in the soul, in order to convince and convert them.

To be particular in all the above instances, would swell this far beyond what is intended; and considering the many and large volumes that are in the world, though a large door is opened before me, yet I am now willing to conclude, and recommend the work, with the reader, to the grace of God, in and through his dear Son Christ Jesus, our great ex-



ample: to whom with the Father, through the divine Spirit, be glory forever. THOMAS CHALKLEY.

Written at FREDERICKSTADT, in Holstein.

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*Some Observations on Christ's Sermon on the Mount.*

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PREFACE.

CHRIST being the great author of the Christian religion, some observations on the sermon which he preached on the mount, may be acceptable to some of his followers; especially such who desire to fulfil his holy will, and not to rest satisfied in a mere form and show of religion.

And also considering that it is the greatest collection of his words left us in the New Testament by the Evangelists, in any one place, I was in hopes some observations thereon might tend to promote the reading of it in the holy Scriptures.

But the great aim I had in this undertaking was, that the professors of the name of holy Jesus might live and walk in his truth, and in the doctrine which he has there laid down for his followers to practise; and that in so doing they might have peace to their souls here, and rest in the kingdom of glory forever.

It is by some accounted and looked upon in youth to be a commendable and worthy practice to write down sermons, and to copy and read them over; and

I believe it will be generally acknowledged, that there was never any sermon that can be compared with this preached in the mount, and recorded by the evangelist Matthew, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters; which if our young and rising generation would often read, and sometimes write down, but be sure to practise, this would be truly noble in them. If they find they want inward strength to perform the duties it prescribes, let them seek it in secret at the hand of the Almighty, in whom is everlasting strength; and it is recorded in holy Scripture, "That he gives liberally, and upbraideth not." He will not upbraid thee, because thou art but a child, or tender in years. Oh, therefore, seek him betimes! for it is written, "They who seek him early shall find him."

If Christians would walk according to this holy sermon, it would help to heal their differences, and to soften them in their sentiments one to another. All parties will confess that the doctrine in this sermon is good, and ought to be promoted amongst all who profess the worthy name of the Lord Jesus; and whoever walks contrary to this rule must needs be in the wrong.

The general end of preachers is, or should be, to have their doctrine taken notice of, and put in practice; and this being counsel from the "Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God and Saviour, the everlasting Father, and Prince of Peace," we should take more than ordinary notice of it.

Considering also that he not only spake his doctrine, but lived in it, and not only lived in, but died in it and for it, and us also, we are deeply engaged to hear him with an obedient heart and ear. "This," says the voice from the most excellent glory, "is my beloved Son, hear ye him." And Moses, the man of God, says, "He that will not hear him, shall be destroyed from amongst the people;" viz., from an inheritance with the saints in the kingdom of God, and his Christ.

I have carefully transcribed the sermon verbatim, and made some observations on it afterwards, I think on every verse a little, as I found openness to it on my mind; and it is recommended to the serious perusal and consideration of all those who tenderly and unfeignedly love our Lord Jesus Christ.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

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"AND seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him, and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying," etc.

Our Lord seeing the multitudes, for the advancing his Father's glory, his own kingdom, and the good of souls, went up into the mountain, and sat in the power of the Father; and when so sat down, his disciples came unto him; which shows the necessity of coming to Christ, to hear his word, and that Christians ought to assemble themselves before him, that he may speak to them either immediately, or by his

ministers if he pleases to enlarge the heart of any of them to declare his word; and as his disciples then personally came unto him, so now we ought to come to him in spirit; and when but two or three are so come to him, He is as really present spiritually, as he was personally in the mount. And as this meeting in the mount was powerful and glorious, so will all those be, in measure, where Jesus is really present in spirit.

“And he opened his mouth, and taught them.” Thus when true believers meet before Christ, he teaches them, and opens the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and speaks truly to the state of the people, even now spiritually, as he did then vocally; and his word is with power and great glory. Oh! may all his servants and ministers, who are sensible of his divine call, minister according to their several gifts and capacities, in his power, and by his holy and divine authority. This must change the hearts of poor mortals, and forward the work of reformation, which, with godly sorrow it may be truly said, goes on but too slowly in this world. Christ being thus set in the power of his Father, opened his mouth and let fall a shower of blessings on those hearts who were prepared to receive them. For his great love and tender compassion are generally manifested to poor souls when they, with love and zeal to him, and for the honor of his great name, assemble before him. He begins and says, —

“Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”

It is a safe and blessed state to be spiritually poor, and to be rightly sensible of it before the Most High. For then we are nothing, and have nothing, but from the Lord : and without him man sees himself undone : his soul must starve, he must go naked, if the Almighty do not feed and clothe him. When people see themselves poor and wretched, miserable, blind, and naked, without Christ, notwithstanding all the fine things they may enjoy in this world, which is of a fading nature, oh, then, how the soul cries and begs for mercy and grace ! A dry form of words will not satisfy it, but it begs with tears, Lord, help me, or I perish ! Save me, or I am undone forever ! Here the soul humbly approaches the throne of grace by prayer ; and if an answer is not quickly received, for such a soul is apt to think the time long, it waits patiently with that servant of God, who said, " Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him : " for I know there is no help for me but from thee, oh, my God, and my Saviour ! saith the truly poor soul. The food which must keep life in me, is thy word : and the raiment which I want, is thy righteousness, as thou wroughtest it for me, and workest it in me also. The Lord looks with a compassionate eye on such souls, and doth not use to turn them away empty ; but as they abide in the patience, waiting for his appearance in hope, he assures them of the kingdom ; and a great change is witnessed ; for the blessing of Christ makes them rich, which adds no sorrow with it. Their greatest sorrow was, and is, for want of it ;

now their treasure and heart is in heaven, and heavenly things are their chiefest delight; now they are clothed with Christ's righteousness, he hath put it upon them, and they show it in the sight of men, a thorough change being wrought both within and without also; "The holy Spirit bearing witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God;" and Christ says theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted."

The mourning here spoken of, is of a godly sort, which may sometimes appear outwardly. First, The soul may mourn for its own sins and iniquities; Second, For want of a Saviour; and Third, For the iniquities of others. "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;" and since we have all sinned, we have all need to mourn before the Lord, and bow ourselves before the Most High; and when he sees that we are humbled before him, he will comfort us. Christ will send the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth in his name, who will come unto us; and when he is come, we may plainly know that it is he, by what he doth, according to Christ's own rule, which is infallible and certain. He says, "When he is come, he will reprove, or convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; of sin, because they believe not on me; of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more; and of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged." Thus, according to Christ, that which shows us our sins, which convinces us of

them, is the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter; and after we have mourned for the sins of which he convinces us, then he comforts us with inward comfort and consolation. This Comforter also convinceth us of our formal righteousness, when it is only formal, without the power of Christ; and then the soul mourns after the life and power of godliness, which indeed is great gain, with true contentment; and hath the promise of the things of this life, and of that also which is to come. Here we are comforted by the Spirit in the promise, in which we have faith to believe in Christ, that he will verily do as he hath promised. It also convinceth us of judgment, when we judge with a wrong judgment; and when we mourn for our mistake, he makes us sensible of his righteous judgment, which judges the prince of this world, who is judged by Christ; and then instead of mourning, we are ready to sing with the saints of old, "Salvation, and glory, and honor, and power, unto the Lord our God, for true and righteous are his judgments, for he hath judged the beast which did corrupt the earth, and hath revenged the blood of his servants at her hands."

The soul being truly in love with Christ, and he being absent from it in some sense; or if he seem to stay a great while from it, although it be only to prove it; this makes it mourn like the spouse in the Canticles, who sets forth the beauty and excellent parts and comeliness of her beloved, and her sorrow is, that he has withdrawn himself; and well may a soul be sorrowful, when Christ spiritually withdraws him-

self. The children of the bride-chamber mourn in the bridegroom's absence, but rejoice in His presence, who is the very perfection of beauty and holiness. But the soul abiding in his love, seeking him and waiting for him, in his own time he will certainly come to that soul; for he is the truth who said, "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."

Again, pious souls cannot but mourn for the sins and abominations of the times, which are a great exercise to them, and affect them with sorrow and mourning; but they are comforted with blessed promises, which the Holy Ghost, at times, immediately applies to their souls, as recorded in the holy Scripture; and let it be remembered, that all our good times are in the hands of the Lord. It is recorded in the holy Scripture, that God would have his people comfortably spoken to; and that he would "give them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified."

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth."

Be not high-minded, saith one of his servants; and another saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Again, "The meek will he teach his way, and the meek will he guide in judgment;" as the holy Scripture witnesseth. Well said



our holy Saviour, that the meek should be blessed : grace is given to them, and God is their teacher and their guide in judgment ; a most blessed gift, teacher, and guide. It is a great blessing indeed, to receive grace from Almighty God, to be taught his ways, and to have the holy One to be our guide in judgment. He who has all power in heaven and in earth committed into his hand, says that the meek " shall inherit the earth : " they have the truest enjoyment of all the things of this life ; whereas the proud and scornful are a burden to themselves and others, and hardly any thing pleases them, or is good enough for them ; when, on the other hand, the meek and contented mind hath a continual feast.

" Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness ; for they shall be filled."

Let it be remembered, that as our mortal bodies cannot enjoy health long without a natural appetite to meat and drink, so our souls cannot live unto holiness without a spiritual hunger and an inward thirst after the righteousness which Christ puts upon his saints ; not by imputation only, but actually also. Such souls he will fill, as Mary witnessed and bore her testimony to the truth thereof, viz. : " He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away." When we are emptied of sin and self, there is room for the Almighty to pour his Spirit into us. If we would fill any thing, it must first be emptied ; so must we be empty, if we hunger and thirst after righteousness : then shall we truly

pray to our heavenly Father for divine food, and it will be our meat and drink to do his will; and we shall delight to feed upon his word; as Christ says, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." This is holy food for the soul, which nourishes and keeps it alive unto God; without this it is dead, notwithstanding it may have the name of a living soul. As this hunger and thirst, or desire, must be spiritual, so must the food be also; "It being the Spirit that quickens," and gives life; wherefore let a spiritual hunger and thirst after God and his righteousness be in the soul. A righteous man being greatly athirst after the living Lord, cries out, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so doth my soul after the living God." And this holy thirst was greatly satisfied, so that his heart was many times sweetly opened to praise the Lord. It is true, we have an adversary, that would be filling us with many things, fleshly, worldly, and satanical; but we are to shut our hearts against him, to keep out all those things, and to stand open to Christ, empty before him. If we find our adversary too hard for us, we are to flee and cry to the Lord for succor and help, who is a God not only afar off, but also near at hand, a present help in the needful time, as many of his servants and children have experienced. Wherefore, to be hungry and thirsty after Christ and his righteousness, entitles us to his gracious promise, who says they shall be filled.

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

It is highly necessary for mortals to show mercy in all their words and actions one to another; and also to the creatures which God hath made for the use of man. It is usually said, that a merciful man is merciful to his beast, which generally is true; and if men are merciful to their beasts, how much more ought they to be merciful one to another. Where mercy is to be extended, it ought not to be done sparingly, since thereby, according to Christ's blessed doctrine, we are to obtain mercy. That servant who showed no mercy to his fellow, had no mercy showed to him from his lord. It is also recorded, in the name of the Lord, "He hath shown unto thee, O man! what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God." By which it appears that we are not just in the sight of God, if we are cruel and unmerciful one to another. And we ought not only to be merciful, but to love it, which, if we are truly humble, we shall certainly do. Mercy will lessen, and not magnify weakness, failings, or small and trivial things, one in another; and sometimes, as the case may require, larger things. Yet there is room for seasonable reproof and correction; but mercy must be mixed with justice, else the correction may end in tyranny. We ought to be gentle to all men, which is a token of true gentility; so to be truly merciful, is to be blessed, and to obtain mercy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

By which we may understand, that we are to take care of our hearts, and to keep a strict watch over them; and not admit unclean or unchaste thoughts, or sinful desires, to have an entrance therein. And if at unawares they should at any time enter, we must not entertain or love them, but turn them out; for we, in this, should be like our heavenly Father, of purer eyes than to behold iniquity with any allowance or approbation: otherwise it will hinder us from seeing God, and from the sweet enjoyment of his most precious presence, and from beholding the only-begotten of the Father, and the fulness of his grace and truth, which we cannot see if our hearts are impure. We have an instance in the scribes and pharisees, who, though they were outwardly righteous and clean, yet within were very impure, so that they could not see God, though he was in Christ reconciling the world to himself: notwithstanding their nice discerning eyes, yet they could not see him, for the impurity of their hearts; which was so great, that they murdered the just One, their hearts being full of deceit and hypocrisy. "Make clean the inside, and the outside will be clean also," says Christ: from whence it appears, that a true Christian must be clean both within and without. The beginning of the work of purity and sanctity must be within; and being innocent and pure in heart, we shall then see the glory of the Father, the lovely beauty of the Son, and the power of the Holy Ghost, or Spirit.

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

This peacemaking is excellent work, and a blessed calling; what pity it is, that there are not more workmen in the world who would set themselves heartily to it, which if they did, in a right spirit, God would certainly prosper the work in their hands, and plentifully reward them with his own peace, which passeth the understanding of the natural man. If our ingenious men, our men and women of skill and good natural parts, would take a little pains, nay, when the case requires it, a great deal, the Almighty would richly reward them. This work is not too mean even for princes and nobles; no, not even the greatest monarchs on earth, unless it be too mean for them to be called the children of God. And if the children of God are peacemakers, what and whose children are they who break the peace of nations, communities, and families? Wherefore we should seek peace with all men, and ensue it, or sue for it, by our continual seeking of it, being a precious jewel when found; and though this office may seem a little unthankful at first, yet in the end it brings forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness, as many so laboring have witnessed. And Christ, to encourage the work, says, "They shall be called the children of God;" which are the words of the King of kings; and if the princes of this world would promote this work among themselves, it would save a vast expense of treasure and of blood; and as these peacemakers are to be

called the children of God, they who are truly concerned herein, are not only so called, but are so in deed and in truth.

"Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

Persecution may be considered in relation to calumny and reproach, and in imprisonments, confinements, or the like, or taking away life or goods on a religious account, for conscientious scruples, etc. What sad work hath there been on this account in the world, not among Turks and Jews only, but among professors of Christianity, which is indeed a great reproach to that holy name. Persecution for righteousness' sake is not fit for Turks or Jews, much less for the professors of our meek Lord; his dispensation and gospel being absolutely the reverse of it, which is a shameful sin to all men in all nations. However, the persecuted have this comfort in the midst of all their sufferings: they are blessed of Christ their Lord, who himself suffered for them; and they are promised by him the kingdom of heaven. By which doctrine it may be safely concluded, that the members of his true church never persecuted any, though they have been often persecuted; but the eyes of many are now open to see the evil of it, and a spirit of moderation begins to grow and spring in divers parts of the earth.

It is to be desired, that the moderation of Christians might more and more increase, and appear to all men; because God is at hand, who will justify

the innocent, whom he knows better than any man, because he sees their hearts, and he will condemn none but the guilty. How shall the Jews be converted, or the Turks be convinced of the verity of the Christian religion, while its professors are tearing and rending one another: had it not been for the immoderation and persecution among professors of Christ in christendom, so called, it is probable Christianity would have made far greater progress in the four quarters of the world long before this time, than it hath done. Persecution hath been proposed by the immoderate to allay heats and divisions, and cure breaches; but the ancient history of persecution, and the modern practice of it, fully convince us, that it hath always tended to make the hot hotter, the divisions greater, and the breach wider, and so the contention to grow endless; which nothing will end but a calm and quiet temper, the mind being cooled by the gentle influences of the holy Spirit of Christ, the immaculate Lamb, who came not to destroy, or devour, but to seek and to save that which was lost and gone astray, that he might bring them home to his fold of rest in his Father's kingdom.

“Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

“Rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets who were before you.”

There is a persecution as before hinted, by calumny

and reproach, or reviling, by evil speaking and falsities, which, for the most part, it is better patiently and quietly to suffer for Christ's sake, and if we are abused to appeal to him; for many times words beget words, till at last it comes to prejudice, and breaks the unity and peace of brethren and families. So that in a general way one had better suffer the calumnies and reproaches of evil men, with a tender concern for God's glory, resting in the blessing of Christ; and that thou wilt most surely feel if thou canst appeal to him on this wise, "Lord, thou knowest I suffer this wrong for thy sake." In such sufferings there is an inward joy, a spiritual rejoicing, and the heart of the persecuted is abundantly more glad, through the blessing and goodness of Christ, than the persecutor, whose conscience accuseth him in secret. And as to personal persecution, it is no more than the prophets and our Lord suffered before us: and with that consideration Christ comforts his suffering seed: Those who suffer with him and his seed, these have the promise of reigning with him; and himself hath promised them a reward, no less than the kingdom of heaven.

"Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt hath lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot by men."

Here Christ showeth that his followers must season the earth, by living a savory life, and by walking according to his doctrine, which is wonderfully set



forth in this excellent sermon. If we live up to those holy rules, we shall be serviceable in our generation, and our lives will teach the people as well as our words, and better too, by how much example is better than precept. And indeed Christians ought to be careful in both; in life to live holy, and in words to be sparing, observing to "Let their words be few and savory, and seasoned with grace, that they may minister grace to the hearers." Thus should we season the world, and salt it with the salt of the covenant; but if we lose this savor of grace, and take a liberty which Christ and his truth do not allow of, speaking things at random, which are not convenient or edifying, but altogether unsavory, then, according to our Master, who is in heaven, we are good for nothing but to be cast out, *i. e.*, out of the church, to be trampled upon by men, as in truth we deserve: not that our bodies are to be killed or destroyed; for the door of the church is always open to receive true penitents: but for this end and good purpose we are chastened of the Lord, that the soul may be saved in the day of the Lord. And those who know godly sorrow for their sins, and turn from the evil of their ways by amendment of life, those Christ forgives, and adviseth his church to do the same, saying, "If he repent, forgive him;" which repentance is best manifested by a new life and a holy and blameless conversation.

"Ye are the light of the world: a city set on a hill cannot be hid."

True and faithful Christians are indeed as stars in God's firmament, which are of excellent use to people in the night, and more especially when they are not clouded, and in a particular manner to those who travel on the seas, for when they have not seen the sun for a season, then they are good guides to the sea-faring man; and likewise in the wilderness on the land. This world is like a wilderness, and like the troubled sea, to some poor souls; and good men and good women are serviceable to reprove and instruct in righteousness: "Such," says Daniel the prophet, "shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars, forever and ever." And these are like a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid.

"Neither do men light a candle, and set it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light to all that are in the house."

Men, when divinely enlightened by the grace and spirit of Christ, ought to exert themselves to their Master's glory and excite others, and stir them up to their duty; and to endeavor, as much as in them lies, to promote the kingdom and interest of our dear Lord. For men are God's candles, as the Scripture saith, "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord;" and this candle is often lighted by Christ, who "Lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and is the true light of the great Father of lights. The great and good end of Christ's lighting man's spirit, and illuminating him with divine light, is, that he may shine out to others in a good conver-

sation and a holy life, which is serviceable to others and himself also, and answers the end of Him who enlightened him by the fire of his word, or with a coal from his holy altar; being thus lighted and walking in it, as the nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of the Lamb. Here all the house, or society, is truly lighted by such lights; and those who have received greater gifts, or degrees of divine light from Christ, than some others, and may have a larger share of natural or acquired parts, ought not to hide it, as our Lord phrases it, under a bushel, but put it in its proper place, on a candlestick; and as the candle is of little use when it is put out, therefore we ought to be very careful to keep to watchfulness and prayer, that it be kept lighted in time of darkness; for "The candle of the wicked is often put out."

"Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

Since there is a bright and shining nature and quality in the holy lives of Christ's servants, and in the conversation of his faithful followers, therefore it should be manifest and appear before men; our lamp should be burning and our light shining; and we should take care to keep holy oil in our vessels, that therewith our lamps may be supplied, otherwise folly instead of wisdom will appear in our conversations, which will be a hinderance, when our great bridegroom cometh, to our entrance into life, or God's

kingdom, and greatly hindereth our Masters glory, of which we are by all means to endeavor the furtherance. Men generally take more notice of our evil works, and when an evil eye is open, will sooner see them, than our good ones; so that we had need to be very careful, and keep a holy watch in our conversations, that our light may so shine, that our Father who is in heaven may be glorified, in our bringing forth much good fruit.

"Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

"For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."

The excellency of the dispensation of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ is wonderful! having no tendency to destroy the law of God given by Moses; for Christ's doctrine comes up through it, fulfils it, and goes beyond it, in perfection and in the beauty of holiness, and in the life and power of pure religion.

"For I say unto you, except your righteousness shall exceed that of the scribes and pharisees, ye shall in no case enter the kingdom of heaven."

Those scribes and pharisees had a righteousness, but it was one of their own making, an outside one only, whereas within they were full of deceit and hypocrisy; they cried up righteousness in words, and yet cried out against him who taught it in the greatest purity, and sought his destruction; they were notable examples to all persecutors for religion. Our

Lord and his servants did not speak against outward holiness, but that the inside should be the same; for living righteousness leads to inward and outward purity, which is manifest by its fruit; and those fruits are fruits of the Spirit, which are, love, meekness, temperance, patience, experience, hope, and charity, or brotherly love; of which those people showed very little to Christ. He was sensible of their envy and malice, which were very contrary fruits to holiness; and therefore he tells them that hear him, that their "Righteousness must exceed that of the scribes and pharisees, or they in no case shall enter the kingdom of heaven."

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment.

"But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire."

Here we may learn that the law provided nothing against anger, only in this case, against shedding of blood, and many times if anger is too much kindled it sets the soul on fire of hell, if it be not timely quenched. People, as it grows hotter, call one another out of their names, and take the name of the Lord in vain, break the third commandment, swearing by him, and cursing men. We may plainly see

by Christ's doctrine, that anger, without cause, is dangerous. Soft words from a sedate mind will wonderfully help in this case: it is not easily conceived what a mighty advantage Satan hath upon one that is angry without a cause: and we are often apt to think we have cause when we have none at all; and then we make work for repentance, without which we are in danger of hell-fire. Wherefore every true Christian ought to watch against the evil of anger; and yet there may be anger where there is real cause, without sin.

"Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee;

"Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."

The Christian religion admits of no malice or guile; the worship of it is in spirit and truth, and love, without hypocrisy, without deceit or hatred: if we come with these to the altar, they will hinder our acceptance. Though we may indeed have a gift, we are to seek reconciliation, and not say, Let him come to me, I will not go to him; but Christ tells us we must go to him; and if thou go to the offended in a meek and Christian spirit, and seek reconciliation, if thy brother will not be reconciled, if the fault be in him, thou hast done thy duty, and thy gift will be received, and Christ will manifest himself to thee by his grace and spirit. But yet art thou to seek for

peace, he having ordained it, and laid it as a duty incumbent on thee.

"Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.

"Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."

It is plain from hence, that Jesus is for a quick and speedy end to differences; "Agree with him quickly;" for it is of dangerous consequence to let disagreements lay long, they eat like a canker, and they destroy the very nature of religion. Personal differences are a great hurt to families, to churches, and to nations and countries, especially when espoused by parties; then what rending, tearing, and devouring work it makes: wherefore take Christ's counsel, and agree quickly. If the difference be on the account of debt, and the debt be just, it is better to offer up one's self and all that he has in the world, than to stand out with one's adversary, till it come to the utmost extremity: and for Christians to go to law one with another, is contrary to the apostle's advice; and oftentimes the gainer of the cause loses by going to law; so that it is good to agree quickly; it being profitable so to do, both spiritually and naturally.

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery.

"But I say unto you, whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

The law was against adultery; but the gospel is against lust; and where there is no lust, there can be no adultery; for then the occasion of adultery is taken away; and the cause being taken away, the effect of course ceaseth. Behold the chaste and pure doctrine of Christ, and his holy dispensation, greatly excelling the law, or Mosaic dispensation! Our blessed Saviour doth not admit of an unchaste or lustful looking upon women; much less of immodest salutations, touches, embraces, or discourses, which all tend to beget lust in the hearts of men; and lust conceived brings forth sin; and sin when finished, brings forth death to the soul.

"And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

"And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

Christ compares the sinful lusts and inclinations, which are the cause of men's destruction, and their being cast into hell, to a right eye, or a right hand, two of the most useful and serviceable members of the body; not that he intended that we should cut off our natural members, but that we should cut off



these sinful lusts, and cast them from us, though they were as a right eye or hand. It is very much against nature, and very painful, to pull out an eye, or cut off a hand; so sin of many kinds is very agreeable to the natural man, and it is very hard for him to part with it; he pleads the use of it, and when Christ, the physician of the soul, comes to put his knife to it, which is his word, poor man is too apt to fly from it, and to shrink from under its stroke: the holy baptist, John, understanding our Lord's doctrine, and being sensible of the powerful working of Christ's word and spirit, says, "Now also the axe is laid to the root of the trees, every tree therefore, which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."

"Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths.

"But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne:

"Nor by the earth, for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King.

"Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.

"But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil."

It was allowed to the Jews to vow to the Lord, and swear by his name, provided they performed their vows and oaths. But here our Lord prohibits and

abolishes all swearing with an "I say unto you, Swear not at all." Though swearing Christians will have it that he here prohibits only vain swearing, or common swearing, this cannot be, because the oaths he here speaks of were solemn, and to the Lord. And the apostle James tells us, "We must not swear by any oath." Neither did the primitive Christians swear at all; and Christians ought to be so just in their conversation, as that their solemn words or promises would give them credit without any need of oaths. If more than yea, yea, and nay, nay, be evil, it must also be evil to require more, and that it is evil if it be more, as all vows and oaths are, we have Christ for our author, a good foundation to build upon.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth :

"But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil : but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.

"And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

There was liberty by the law of Moses, for a man to revenge himself, if he had an injury done to him ; but Christ teacheth patient suffering ; we are not to give any offence, but we are to take them quietly for his sake, in which Jesus was an excellent example to us, whose sufferings were not for himself, but for us : he turned his cheek to the smiter, and his face to those that plucked off the hair. To a man of

courage and choler, this indeed is no small cross; but he must deny himself, and take up Christ's cross daily, and follow him, if he will be his disciple: and as for the law, it is better never to meddle with it, in a general way; and if thy coat by law is taken away, thou hadst better give him thy cloak than stand another trial with him: and it is much if thou art not a gainer by so doing. But the gain is not urged as the motive; but obedience to Christ, our great Lord and good Master, who said, "If ye love me, keep my commandments."

"Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away."

We are here to suppose the asker to be in real want and necessity, and the borrower also to stand in need, and the asked to be in a capacity and of ability to supply and assist the asker and borrower; and in such case we are by no means to refuse to give him that asketh, nor turn away from him who would borrow of us. If we are not in a capacity to supply, we are yet to use mild and friendly expressions; for Christians should be courteous and kind to all, and particularly to the distressed. And if we think the askers or borrowers are not worthy or deserving for their own sakes, we should, if need be, give and lend for Christ's sake, and in obedience to him, though it cross our own inclinations.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy.

"But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless

them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you, and persecute you ;

“That ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven : for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.”

The Hebrews had liberty to hate their enemies ; but no people, by any dispensation, had liberty to hate their neighbors or friends ; so that those who are in that state are far beyond the line of truth. But, says our holy Lawgiver, “I say unto you, love your enemies.” If we love our enemies, we can in no wise destroy them, although it were in our power. Again, “Bless them that curse you.” But, alas ! how apt are men, and even those who would think it hard to be told they are disobedient to Christ, to render railing for railing, and cursing for cursing, instead of blessing. “Do good to them that hate you.” If we are sensible that anybody hates us, and have demonstration of it, for sometimes we imagine it when it is not so, yet are we to do them all the good turns we can. “And pray for them who despitefully use you, and persecute you.” Thus we are not to render evil for evil, but to overcome the evil with that which is good. Sweet was our Lord’s example to us in this when he said, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.” If spiteful persecutors really know what they do when they persecute the just, their damnation must needs be very great ; but if we do good for

evil, as Christ hath taught, then are we the children of our heavenly Father, "Who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

"For if ye love them who love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?"

"And if ye salute your brethren only, what do you more than others? do not even the publicans so?"

Our virtue is much more shining in loving those who do not love us, than in loving those who do. It is natural for us to love those who love us, and we should be ungrateful if we did not; but the reward is greater, if we love them who do not love us, which must be manifested in deeds, as well as words; for saying and doing sometimes are two things, which made the apostle say, "Our love must not be with word and with tongue only, but in deed and in truth."

As to friendly and hearty salutations, that may be necessary or needful, we should not only manifest them to our brethren, but as occasion requires to all, it being a shining virtue in Christians to be kind to strangers, and to show forth a generous and loving temper and deportment to such as may not be of us; though not in a flattering, modish, or complimentary way, but hearty and respectful, according to the plainness of Christ and the simplicity of his gospel, without respect of persons, respect being too generally shown to high, more than to them of low degree. As we are not to refuse our friendly salutations to the

great, or the rich, so we are not to neglect the poor, for the publicans do so.

"Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

Christ would have us to be perfect in the practice of his doctrine, and to live up to it in perfect obedience, according to the best of our judgment and understanding, and not to do his work by halves, but honestly and perfectly, according to the measure of grace received. Some have received twice, some thrice so much as some others, as the parable of the talents plainly showeth; but whatever discoveries or manifestations of grace, light, or truth, we have received, we ought to walk up to them perfectly; "Even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." As the Almighty is perfect in his love, justice, mercy, grace, and truth, unto poor mortals, in Christ Jesus, his only-begotten, and in all his works, so ought we to be perfect in our known duty: as it is written, "Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy." So must we be according to the degree of grace received.

It is supposed that nobody will imagine that any mortal can come up in degree with the Almighty, but according to our measure, gift, and degree of grace received, we are to be holy and perfect, as God, our heavenly Father, and Christ, our dear Lord, are so in fulness.

"Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.

"Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do, in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

"But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth :

"That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly."

The Christian religion, in its purity, according to the doctrine of the founder of it, is a compassionate religion, and full of pity, as well as piety. It is a holy composition of charity and goodness. The apostle thus describes it: "Pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and widows, in their affliction; and to keep himself unspotted from the world." This is pure religion, and this is the Christian religion: happy are those who walk up to it, and live according to the precepts of Him who dictated them; then the widows and the fatherless would not be neglected; the poor would be very generously taken care of, and our garments kept clean, and all done as secretly as may be. For when we proclaim our alms-deeds and charity, we lose our reward from our heavenly Father. Also when alms are given, it ought to be done in the spirit of love and meekness, and so received; else the receiver loses a second benefit, and the giver his heavenly reward. To give to the poor is to lend to Him that made us,

and we shall have good and greater measure returned us again. If we hope to have the gates of Christ's kingdom opened to us at last, our hearts must also be opened to the poor and needy, when in distress ; remembering the words of Christ, where he says to some who were waiting for, and wanting an entrance into the kingdom, "I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat; I was naked, and ye clothed me not. I was sick and in prison, and ye visited me not." They answered, "Lord, when saw we thee hungry, naked, sick, or in prison, and did not feed thee, clothe thee, and visit thee?" He answers, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not to me." He sympathizes with his poorest and meanest members, whatever others do, and takes that which is done to them, as if done to himself, whether it be good or bad. We should be good to all, but especially to Christ's members, or the household of the faithful keepers of his commandments. Our alms being thus distributed, according to our ability and the necessities of the object, without ostentation, and in secret, our munificent Father, who sees in secret, will openly reward us.

How many rich men are there in the world, who have made great and costly entertainments for their rich friends, neighbors, and relations; and if their substance be so great that it is not felt by them, they had the more need to remember the poor; when they never so much as spare the tithe of it to them, though the poor have ten times the need of it; and



though Christ says, "When thou makest a feast, invite not thy rich friends, for they will invite thee again; but call the poor, the lame, and the blind," etc.

"And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

"But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

"But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking.

"Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before you ask him."

Prayer is absolutely necessary for the being and well-being of a Christian; an outside formal Christian may use the form, though unreformed; but it availeth little without reformation. Private prayer, according to Christ's rule, is effectual and rewardable, agreeable to his doctrine. He also speaks against hypocrisy and loving to be seen of men, with a command not to be like unto those who do so. "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet." When we feel and are sensible of a divine call,—this must of course be the right and best time, for Christ has not set us a distinct hour,—then we are to enter into the closet of

an humble heart or mind, or some secret place in private. This is Christ's order for particular persons in a general way ; but is not intended to prevent such who are rightly concerned to pray in the public assemblies or gatherings of the church ; for we have Christ for our example, who prayed openly and publicly with his disciples.

"But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do ; for they think to be heard for their much speaking." Formal repetitions of prayer, repeated day by day, when they are not according, but contrary to the states of those by whom they are read or repeated, must needs be vain ; and people may vainly make use of the Lord's own form in that case, though it is the best in the world, and to think to be heard for much speaking, is to run into the error of the heathen. "Be not ye," says Christ, "therefore like unto them ; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him." Prayer is a gift from God and from Christ ; and as we wait on God in Christ's name and power, he will give us that gift, when he sees we stand in need of it, or that it will be for our edification. For he has promised to pour out the spirit of prayer and of supplication upon his people. A great apostle said, "If he prayed, he would pray with the Spirit." In another place he says, "We know not what we should pray for, as we ought ; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings that cannot be uttered." Likewise, "The Spirit also helpeth our infirmities." Since there is no form

like that of Christ's, it is here set down, that people might take diligent care to learn it, and to teach it to their children. But if they learn it rightly, they must also learn to live in it: that is, live according to it; otherwise they will mock, instead of serving Him, who made both it and them for his own honor and the glory of his name.

"After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name:

"Thy kingdom come: thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

"Give us this day our daily bread.

"And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.

"And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

"For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.

"But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."

A short form and but few words, but of excellent composition. And truly happy are those who live so in their conversation that they may, when they use them, do it without falsehood or deceit; enjoying the answer of peace in the practice of it, and the sense of grace influencing the soul.

First; "Our Father who art in heaven." The great Creator, our universal Father, hath made us and all nations, of one blood; but there is another,

and a nearer relation to him than this, to be a child of God by regeneration. If we live in an unregenerate state, in our sins and lusts, all which are of Satan, then Christ says, "Ye are of your father the devil; and the lusts of your father ye will do;" and in another place he says, "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." It is into this relation that the soul ought to come, who can truly and religiously say, "Our Father," etc.

Second; "Hallowed be thy name." Do we sanctify the holy name of the God of the whole earth? Do we religiously observe to fear and serve him? Do we profane his awful name, by taking it in vain, and living in sin and vanity? This, instead of hallowing and sanctifying his name, is to dishonor and reproach it on our part, though he will hallow and honor his own name in justice and judgment, on profane and ungodly livers, at the last day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead by Jesus Christ. God will not be mocked; such as every one sows, such shall they reap, whether sin unto death, or righteousness unto life.

Third; "Thy kingdom come." His kingdom is a kingdom of righteousness. Happy souls! who seek the righteousness of it betimes and continue in it to the end. If this kingdom come, Satan's, which is a kingdom of sin and unrighteousness, must needs fall.

Oh! that the rising generation might be strong to overcome the wicked one, and to be instruments to

pull down his kingdom, and promote the kingdom of God and his Christ. If we do not believe that Satan's power and kingdom may and ought to be destroyed in us, how can we pray without hypocrisy for the coming of God's holy kingdom? Believing we must live and die in sin, is a great support to Satan's kingdom, and a great hinderance of the coming of the kingdom of the dear Son of God.

Fourth; "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Most certainly the will of God is punctually and perfectly done in heaven; and hardly any who make use of this blessed form but believe it is so; but it is the misery of many souls to believe it not possible for them to do God's will here on earth, as it is done in heaven. So that such pray in unbelief, or without a true faith; and the apostle says, "What is not of faith is sin." Is it not also charging Christ with commanding that which cannot be done? It is worthy our sedate consideration. He hath sown grace, and ought in justice to reap it from all mortals. The great sower, Christ, sows in all sorts of men or grounds: the grace of God appears to all men, and teaches them to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, to live soberly, and righteously, and godly, in the present world. But antichrist teaches that it cannot be done here on earth as in heaven.

Fifth; "Give us this day our daily bread." We not being capable, without his blessing, of procuring bread for our bodies or souls, either natural or supernatural; and because our souls cannot live without

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the last, no more than our bodies without the first, therefore we ought to pray to our heavenly and most holy Father for both, without doubting: and this should be done daily, either in words, holy sighing, or spiritual groans, the Almighty knowing the language of the soul in the one, as well as in the other.

Sixth; "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." Or, as one of the evangelists hath it, "Our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us;" which is to the same end and purpose. If a debtor is indebted to us, and happens, through some accident or other, to be insolvent, and hath not wherewith to pay, we are to forgive him, else how can we expect God to forgive us. For we are all his debtors, and have nothing that we can call our own, to pay that great debt which we owe to Him, our mighty creditor; who might lawfully cast us into an eternal jail. But, oh! his infinite mercy and love to us poor mortals: he would have us to imitate him, and forgive one another, as we expect he should forgive us. And since offences and trespasses will come, we must forgive, and the more freely, when the person offending sues for it, by humble petition, to the offended. If we forgive not, neither will our heavenly Father forgive us our trespasses.

Seventh; "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever. Amen."

That is, lead us into truth and righteousness, which is the same with leading us out of sin and out of

temptation : for we pray to be led out of it by praying not to be led into it ; seeing we are not to understand that the Almighty will tempt any man to evil. " If," says the apostle, " any man is tempted, let him not say that he is tempted of God, for God tempteth no man, but he is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust." Though he doth sometimes permit and suffer us to be tempted, and when we fall into divers temptations, and escape them, we have cause to be joyful, and thankful that we are delivered out of them, and give the glory to God, who is the great preserver of men : whose " is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen."

" Moreover, when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance, for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

" But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face ;

" That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly."

Christ would have all our works of piety, virtue, and charity, all our religious duties done in the divine love and filial fear of God, and not for vainglory or ostentation. And truly, without we expect our reward from men, there is no need of an outward, hypocritical show, in such duties as that is of fasting, when truly called to it, and truly performed. This the Jews were much in the practice of ; but many of them being

formal hypocrites in it, our Lord reprehends them, and warns his hearers to shun the like deceit; and tells them, if they fast secretly, their heavenly Father will reward them openly: yet we must not be open sinners, or private ones either: for open or public sin is damning, if not repented of and forsaken, as well as private deceit.

“Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal:

“But lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal:

“For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.”

Earthly treasures are very apt to take up the mind and draw it from heaven; and because Christ would have his children to be in heaven with him, in tender love he adviseth them not to lay up for themselves riches or treasure on earth. If it be said we lay it up for our children, it may be said also, it is the same snare for them as to the parents, and sometimes a greater; and when it is gotten, it is liable to many casualties, and creates a great deal of care and trouble. Wherefore Christ tenderly adviseth to seek after, and lay up treasure of another nature, in a safer and better place, which will not be liable to the like casualties, and urgeth us to it, with this great reason: “For where your treasure is, there will your hearts be also.” Oh! may every true Christian's treasure and heart be there forever.



"The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.

"But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness: if therefore the light which is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness."

It is not good to look on men or things with an evil eye; but singly to look on one's self and others, in the fear of God, having a single eye to his glory; and then being enlightened by his divine light, we shall discern between good and evil. Whereas if there be any double-dealings, or looking, or thinking, or if ungodly self be in the bottom, and not the glory of God, then our light will be darkness, and that darkness will be very great; as it is said in the holy Scriptures, a double-minded man is unstable in all his ways: so that our Saviour's doctrine is good; to have a single eye, and to avoid all double-dealing.

"No man can serve two masters; for he will either hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other: ye cannot serve God and mammon."

We cannot give our hearts to God and to this world, and the things of it also, so as to set our affections on both, for the apostle saith, "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." And again, "The love of money is the root of all evil;" *i. e.*, the inordinate love of it, and seeking after it, more than for our Maker and Saviour. Then let us despise the world and the things of it, in com-

parison of our God and our Saviour. We do not understand by those words of Christ, that he intended to debar us from seeking a comfortable accommodation for ourselves and families in this world; but that we should not set our hearts and affections upon it; for we cannot equally affect both heaven and earth.

"Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on: is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?"

"Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?"

Christ would have us without anxious thoughts about our living in this world, *i. e.*, about our eating, drinking, and clothing, and tells us, "That the life is more than meat, and the body more than raiment;" by which he shows us, that he who gave the life, will, by his providence, support it: and as he hath formed the body, he will form that which must feed it; and that we might the more depend upon God's providence, he teaches us by the fowls of the air, which neither sow nor reap, nor gather into barns, and yet their great Creator feedeth them; and asks, If we are not much better than they? So that we being more noble creatures, need not doubt of the care and providence of God, and his blessing on the labor of our hands; though our hearts are not concerned

unnecessarily about it, but we have freely given them to God, and his Christ, our Saviour.

“Which of you, by taking thought, can add one cubit to his stature?”

The farmers or planters cannot by their thoughtfulness, cause their corn, fruits, or cattle to multiply or grow; nor the tradesman his custom, goods, or business, without a proper application, which our Saviour is not against, only he would have us without an encumbered and over-caring mind. The merchant likewise, by all his thoughtfulness, cannot bring home his ship from afar, nor carry her safe to her desired port. All things on this wise are in the hands of Almighty God, and it is our duty to trust in him, and to depend upon his divine providence for meat, drink, and clothing, for happiness here, and hereafter, forever.

“And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:

“And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these.

“Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, oh! ye of little faith?

“Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed?

“For after all these things do the gentiles seek;

for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

Many people now, as well as then, are very fond of their clothing, and love to be gay and fashionable therein; and some are not a little proud of their clothes, and are thoughtful how they may deck themselves to be admired. Our Lord, who was meek and lowly of heart, sends us to the lily to consider her beauty and glory and innocent thoughtlessness, declaring that Solomon, in all his grandeur and splendor, was not arrayed like one of these: for this is a natural sweetness and gayety the lily is clad with; but Solomon's, as also most men's and women's, is generally but artificial. If God so clothe the grass of the earth, will he not clothe us; if we believe not, we must have but very little true faith. So that it would be much better for us to consult how we shall please God and honor him, and his holy Son and divine name, than to consult what we shall eat or drink, or how, or wherewith we shall be clothed, which things the gentiles sought after, more than after God. But we, knowing that our heavenly Father seeth that we have need of all these things, should chiefly leave it to him, and first seek his kingdom and righteousness.

"But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.

"Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Here is a glorious gospel promise; upon seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, all these things shall be added to us, viz., meat, drink, and raiment, the necessary things that we want to support us while we are in this world. But let us remember, it must be our first work, it must be the chief desire of our souls. It must be first in several senses: first as to our young and tender years; first, in the morning of every day; first, in respect of all other things. First, as it hath pleased God to give us a being in this world, and being in the prime and flower of our years, we should then devote our souls to God and his work and service, and enter into covenant with him, with full purpose of heart to keep the same truly and inviolably; for it would be better not to make a covenant, than to make it and break it. Neither should we slight or put off the work of God till we are in our declining years, as though we would give him only the refuse and broken end of our days, and conclude it will better become us when we are old, to serve him. Oh, no! learn the fear of God truly, and practise it when thou art young, and thou wilt not easily depart from it when thou art old. Thou wilt find it hard to get into a holy life and conversation, when thou hast been spending thy youth in vanity and folly; therefore, "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the evil day come." The autumn of man's years is in divers respects called the evil day. Oh! it is exceedingly sweet and precious to see an innocent

life, and modest, sober conversation in youth, when they are in their blooming years, seasoned with grace and truth. When youth is laden with the fruits of grace, and of the holy Spirit, how pleasant is the taste of it; it relishes well with all men, and naturally brings praise to God, as well as peace to the soul. May the youth of this present generation, as also generations to come, be such holy plants, that God's right hand may be seen in planting them: when after being fruitful, and doing the work and service of their day, and answering the noble end of God in making and planting them in this world, they may be transplanted into the eternal kingdom of heaven: which, doubtless, they will, who first seek his kingdom and the righteousness of it.

Second; If we consider that our life and being are daily granted to us, and we are supported by the goodness and providence of Almighty God every day, it is but just that he should have the first of our thoughts, in the morning of the day, as well as the last in the evening. The royal psalmist saith, "If I prefer not Jerusalem before my chiefest joy, then let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth;" much more ought we to prefer our Creator to all things, and to have our thoughts on him, first in all things, and every day.

Third; What are the things of this world in comparison of those that are to come; all these are fading and transitory; but the things of that which is to come are durable and permanent; and therefore

ought to be first and chief in our minds. That which is chief in our hearts, may be said to have the first place there. "One thing," says a servant of God, "have I desired, and that will I seek after, that I might dwell in the house of God all the days of my life." This is the first thing we are to seek for. As for the morrow, we need not be too thoughtful or anxious concerning it, for we know not whether we shall live to enjoy it, so that as Christ says, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

"Judge not, that ye be not judged :

"For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged ; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

A great and wise expression from a righteous and just Judge ; the Judge of heaven and of earth, to whom all power in both is given ; by which we may easily perceive we are to be very careful in our judgment and censure of others, and that we be not rash and censorious therein ; considering that with what judgment we judge our fellow-mortals, with such shall we also be judged ourselves, and that measure which we measure out to others, shall be filled to us again. When it comes to our turn to be judged, or censured by others, for anything which we have done or said, we are ready then to cry out for charity ; are we so careful to be charitable in judging and censuring others !

It is better to suspend personal judgment, without we could see the hearts of men ; and if we think we

do, then to imitate God and Christ, and mix mercy and love with judgment; rashness and extremes in judgment being commonly hurtful.

"And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

"Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, and behold a beam is in thine own eye.

"Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

True it is, that the transgressions of others are very afflicting to those who fear God; and this passage is not intended to hinder the good from reproving the evil; but shows us that we must be clear of evil in ourselves when we reprove others, else the guilt of hypocrisy will be laid at our door. We are to look more at our own failings than at the failings of others, and to take special care that we are clear of that for which we reprove others; and is it not deceit, to set up for reformers of others, when there are great defects in ourselves? It is too general a fault in poor mortals to be quicker sighted to see the faults of others, than their own. Our Saviour's words to the Jews, who brought the woman to him, and told him, by their law she ought to die, are worthy of notice; he answers, "He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her." They being guilty, and convicted of sin in their own consciences, left her to Christ, and



went their way: and when we have done what we can to convince others of sin, we must leave them to Christ at last; whether we are in sin or without it; but we shall be the better able to help to reform others, if we are clear from guilt in our own hearts.

“Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.”

When we see the biting and persecuting nature, and dirty, selfish spirit of men, it is to little purpose, generally, to cast before them the precious pearl of truth, or to show unto them the deep mysteries of the kingdom of God, or the light of life, they being in a brutish spirit; but when people are sober, and show forth humanity and moderation, then are holy things valuable to them, and the things of Christ's kingdom and his doctrine precious in their eyes. Wherefore it greatly behooveth Christ's ministers to minister that to the people which is suitable for them, and rightly to divide between the precious and the vile, and to give to every one their portion, according to their deeds; mercy to whom mercy, and judgment to whom judgment belongs; without partiality, and without hypocrisy or deceit; and not to flatter and daub those who are in the doggish and swinish nature.

“Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.

“For every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.

"Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?

"Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?

"If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?"

Our kind and tender Redeemer would stir up and provoke souls to prayer and supplication; he has been liberal in his holy advice; and to stir us up to it, here are moving expressions, if thy heart be open to receive them. Could we have easier terms if we were to make them ourselves with the Lord, than to ask, and have; seek, and find; knock, and the gates are opened; provided we ask in faith, tenderly, and seek in humility, and knock with divine wisdom and submission? Our Lord's own practice shows that we should be tender, submissive, and fervent in prayer; and then the fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much with the Lord. Christ urgeth us to it, and brings ourselves for example. "What man is there among you, who if his son ask bread, or a fish, will he give him a stone, or a serpent?" Surely no: no father would deal thus with his child; but when his child is hungry, and asks bread, he gives it to him: so when the Almighty sees our hunger, and we tenderly seek divine assistance and refreshment from him, he, in his own time, satisfies such souls with bread from above, and the thirsty with living water out of the wells of salvation. Oh! blessed be his holy name for evermore.

Evil men know how to give good things to their children, therefore we may well conclude that our heavenly Father knows how to give with much more discretion and understanding the good things of his kingdom, to true asking, seeking, knocking, or praying souls.

“Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.”

Well may this be called the golden rule; for if we square our lives and actions by it, it will certainly mete us out the true way to happiness and glory. We are generally apt to say, when any one doth ill to another, “Would he be willing to be served so himself?” And if we follow this rule in all our concerns, it will be well; whether in relation to public or private business; whether in trade or religion, or in our domestic affairs: the law and the prophets point at it, and our Saviour plainly lays it down as a rule for us to walk by.

“Enter ye in at the strait gate; for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be who go in thereat.

“Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be who find it.”

It is afflicting to consider how natural it is for people to walk in this broad way, and they who walk in it are many; for here is room for people to walk if they are proud, whoremongers, adulterers, thieves, swearers, liars, drunkards, covetous, or in any other

evil course of life; but let them know, it leadeth to destruction, and the end is eternal misery, and their many companions will administer no consolation to them, when they lift up their eyes in hell. And whereas the way that leads to life is called strait, it is only strait to flesh and blood, or the will of unregenerate man. Oh! it is a pleasant way, exceedingly pleasant, when brethren walk together in love and unity. The enemy of mankind would persuade souls, that it is narrower than it really is, when they have some faint inclinations to make trial of it. It may truly be said, "Blessed are the undefiled in this way, who walk in the law of the Lord:" for, "His ways are ways of pleasantness, and all his paths are peace." And although the way to the kingdom is strait and narrow, yet there are hills and valleys therein as well as plains, until we get through the gate to glory: there shall we know no more sorrow nor pain, but shall praise and glorify God and the Lamb forever.

"Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing; but inwardly they are ravening wolves.

"Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

"Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

"A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

"Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire.

“Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.”

The great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, shows the care which he takes of his sheep, and forewarns them to be careful of false prophets and deceivers; who, though they may clothe themselves with words like the true ones, yet inwardly they would destroy all who do not join with them, or receive them; and they are for biting the poor harmless sheep of Christ, and if they could, or it were in their power, would devour them, their minds being in the ravening nature. But our holy and all-wise Bishop, that we might be preserved from them, tells us how we may infallibly know them; saying, “Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?” says Christ: Surely no. That is altogether unnatural, as well as unreasonable and impossible. In the grape there is a sweet and pleasant nourishment, those fruits being cordial and wholesome; but it is bad meddling with thistles and thorns, they being generally very unprofitable to mankind, and hurt the good seed wherever they grow among it. Well, where must we go for the grapes and the figs? To be sure we must go to the vine, and the fig-tree: Christ is this vine, and his people are the branches, who bring forth such fruit, according to the divine life or sap which they receive, as he taught, and teaches to his followers. So that if men’s words be like the words of angels, if they have never so great parts and endowments, yet if their fruit be evil, if they live in sin and do iniquity, and bring forth the fruits of

malice and rage, or devouring persecution, they then are none of Christ's sheep, though they may have their clothing: "For every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; and a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit." So if the fruit be evil, the tree is certainly corrupt.

Our Lord elsewhere saith, "Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good also:" and to be made truly good, since we are all corrupt by nature, and in the fall, we must be cut off from that nature, and grafted into Christ, who said, "I am the vine, and ye are the branches;" and then our lives and fruits will be changed. "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit: and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire." That axe which John speaks of, will be laid to the roots of the corrupt trees, and will hew them down, and they will be cast into the fire, as Christ speaks. It is not destroying the bodies of men that Christ speaks of, but an inward work in the soul, showing the powerful nature of the dispensation of the gospel of Christ, which is not material cutting, or burning with material fire, or sword: but Christ's word is a fire and sword to cut down and burn up the evil nature in man. The apostle confirms this doctrine of his Master thus, "He that doth righteousness is righteous, but he that sinneth is of the devil." The apostle is plain and full, as is Christ, who repeats his doctrine over again, with, "Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."

"Not every one that saith unto me, Lord! Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven."

It is not our profession that will give us admittance into heaven, or a name of religion, or religious performances, if we love sin and unrighteousness; nor is it our praying, preaching, hearing, reading, or discoursing of, or arguing for Christ, if we do the works of Satan; for there are many who may go further than this, and yet not have admittance into the kingdom of God and our blessed Lord Jesus, as is plainly manifest in the next verse.

"Many will say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name have done many wonderful works.

"And then I will profess to them, I know ye not; depart from me, ye workers of iniquity."

So that professing Christ's own name, and prophesying therein, without working the works of God, will not do. Nay, though they may cast out devils, which indeed is a great work.

Christ speaks about the strong man armed, who kept the house till a stronger than he came; who, when he came, spoiled his goods and dispossessed him, but coming again, found the house, or heart, swept and garnished: swept from many immoralities, and garnished with self-righteousness and carnal security; and the man off his watch and not at home with Christ, who is stronger than Satan: he then re-enters,

and seven worse spirits with him. So that we had need to be on our watch, and keep near to Christ, lest after all our experience and wondrous works, our last state be worse than our beginning, and we be shut out of the kingdom in the end. For these say, that they have done many wonderful works in Christ's name: so that we may work miraculous things, and be sensible of wonderful power and strength from Christ; and yet, without persevering in the way of holiness and self-denial, may fall short of heaven. Wherefore it is of dangerous consequence to live in sin and iniquity; or to lean towards it, so as to plead for it, or believe we cannot live without it while in this world. For if we live and die in it, we may justly, according to the above doctrine of Christ, expect that he will say unto us in the great day, "Depart from me, ye that work iniquity."

"Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man who built his house upon a rock.

"And the rains descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock."

Oh! what excellent sayings and doctrine, what holy precepts has Christ here recommended to the professors of his name, and to them who believe in him and the Almighty Father and maker of heaven and earth. Surely we are greatly beholden to our Lord Jesus Christ for those divine sayings. But to commend them or to read them, or hear them only,



is doing but little ; the keeping and the doing of them is the main thing, the thing that is needful ; and to press the practice of them, Jesus has made this apt comparison.

First ; “ He who hears them, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man.” And indeed it is great wisdom to keep them, that is, to practise them, and as great folly to live contrary to them and plead against them.

Second ; “ Who built his house upon a rock.” This rock is Christ, the rock of ages, and his Holy Spirit, or the Holy Ghost, as Christ said to Peter, when Christ was revealed to him : “ Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven : ” “ Thou art Peter,” or a stone or rock : thou art a man, though thy name signifies a rock, and as thy name signifies a rock, so “ On this rock I will build my church ; the gates of hell cannot prevail against it.” Peter was one who heard these sayings and did them, when he had received the Holy Ghost, or Spirit ; for which every true believer ought to pray continually, until he receive it ; through the help of which he may, without doubt, keep those holy sayings. For of ourselves, without it, we cannot do any real good, either in speaking, thinking, or acting.

Third ; “ And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon the house, and it fell not ; because it was founded upon a rock.”

If rain from above be poured out in wrath on man, for sin and iniquity, and floods of persecution, or the

windy words of men come upon this house, it will stand: if sickness and death itself, and many other storms, that we may meet with in this world, should beat against our building, we being built upon the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, shall surely stand them all, and live through all, if we hear or read Christ's sayings, and practise the same; we are on the rock, and shall not fall for that reason.

"And every one who heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand.

"And the rains descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it."

If we read or hear these sayings, or doctrine of Christ, and do not dwell in the life of it, nor practise the same, it were better we knew it not. For our Saviour saith, "He who knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." It is great folly to be sensible of Christ's holy will and doctrine, and not to do it: if we profess Christianity, and build our profession on Christ, and yet do not observe to keep his sayings, the foundation of our building will be very loose and sandy: and when those rains, and floods, and winds, which Christ speaks of, shall descend and beat against this building, it must needs fall, and the higher the building is, the greater will be the fall of it.

Thus ended the best sermon that ever was preached; in which is set forth the great truths of God and our

Lord Jesus Christ, with blessings and rewards to the righteous, and holy believers in him, who put in practice his precepts; and reproof to the disobedient and unfaithful; with promises of the kingdom of heaven to one, and to the other, a being shut out of it.

“ And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, that the people were astonished at his doctrine.

“ For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.”

They were astonished at his doctrine, and well they might be, for it excelled even the law, and went beyond it, as when he tells them, it was said of old time, or in the law, “Thou shalt not kill,” he taught that we must not be angry without a cause. And whereas the law gives liberty to hate our enemies, he charges us to love them, and pray for them, and do good to them; again the law prohibits adultery; Christ prohibits lusts, both in the eye and in the heart. And whereas the law commanded to perform their oaths to the Lord, Christ commands not to swear at all. Now those who are not angry, it is not likely should kill; those who love their enemies cannot hate or destroy them; those who have not lusts in their hearts or eyes, cannot commit adultery; and those who never swear, cannot forswear themselves: all which he taught with divine power and authority from above. He was not dry and formal like the scribes: so likewise his ministers, and the preachers of his gospel, should wait on him, to be endued with

a measure of his divine spirit and holy grace, that the hearers might be edified, and the Father, Son, and Spirit, might have the glory, who over all is worthy forever.

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*Some truly tender Scruples of Conscience, about that Form of Prayer called the Common Prayer, as used by the Members of the Church of England.*

I AM not against reading the holy Scripture, either privately or openly, but would encourage it in all Christians and true believers in Christ : and we ought to excite one another thereto, and more especially to put in practice what we read to be our duty ; otherwise the holy letter will kill, as said the apostle, which is to be understood when we practise contrary to what we read therein. As for example, where our Lord saith, " Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." Again, " God will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain." " That servant that knew his Lord's will, and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." These, and many more portions of holy Scripture, are condemning and killing to those who live in sin and evil, which the letter is absolutely against, and without true repentance, accompanied with amendment of life, though the holy Bible be read every day, it will but add to our condemnation. But if people truly repent of the evil of

their ways, and awake to righteousness, and sin not, as the holy Scriptures themselves hold, and Christ taught, then unto such souls they are as a rich treasure, and as a cabinet full of precious jewels, able to make the man of God wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ, by the influence of the Holy Ghost, or Spirit. It is not the reading divinely inspired writings, or the Bible, which is scrupled, but the formal reading of formal composed prayers and songs, at set times, instituted by such whose principle is that there is now no divine revelation, and that we cannot live without sinning, while we are in this world, according to the tenor of the Common Prayer; holding, that we sin as long as we live, as if God's power were not stronger to preserve out of sin, than the devil's to keep us in sin, contrary to the work and doctrine of the holy apostles, who were sent of God to turn people from Satan's power to the power of God; whose glorious, eternal power is above the power of sin, death, and the devil.

I wish to write a few words concerning some unsound words, and also some Scripture expressions perverted to a wrong use in the Common Prayer.

First; As to that expression in the Common Prayer, that "We are miserable sinners."

Second; And that "We are full of bruises and putrefying sores."

Third; And "From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot there is no soundness in us."

Fourth; And that "We have left undone the

things which we ought to do, and do those things which we ought not to do ;” and these to be repeated for life.

First, then, If people must be miserable sinners all their days, to what end did Christ come into the world and preach the gospel, and suffer death, the painful death of the cross? Did he not come to put an end to sin, and to destroy the works of the devil, whose works are sin? Did he not preach against sin, both within and without? Witness the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the evangelist Matthew. Yea, his birth, life, preaching, suffering, death and resurrection, and ascension into glory, were all against sin, the devil, death and darkness, and all the works and deeds thereof. Christ died for our sins, and we should die to them, and live to him: He came to save us from the act of sin, as well as the imputation of it; and takes away the guilt of sin on condition of true repentance and amendment of life, as the doctrine of Christ and his apostles largely and plainly demonstrates, as any who are come to the years of discretion, and who can but read the holy Scriptures, may plainly discover.

The apostle saith, “Whatsoever things are holy, whatsoever things are pure, just, and of good report, seek after those things.” And again, “No unclean thing can enter the kingdom of heaven;” but certainly all sin is unclean. Read over the holy Scriptures, from the beginning to the end, their nature and tendency is against all sin; and as it is true that we

all have been sinners, surely therefore all true Christians and true believers in Christ have cause reverently to bow, and to be truly and humbly thankful, that Christ, our great Lord, by offering himself for us, hath taken away that imputation, so that now, through faith and belief in Christ, accompanied with true repentance and amendment of life, the imputation of our former sins is taken away; for this cause we praise God and adore his eternal majesty forever.

Second; As to the word "miserable," a Christian may indeed be poor; but since Christ is come to make us happy and comfortable, through the hope of eternal salvation, in his name and power, as we are not to think ourselves better than we are, so we cannot say nor think we are miserable, unless we are without God and Christ; and then we are miserable indeed; but no mortal can be miserable who hath Christ; "For he that hath the Son, hath life (eternal life) abiding in him." To be truly in Christ, is to be truly happy; this doctrine is as clear as the sun at noonday, or as a morning without clouds. When the soul comes to see itself undone without a Saviour, and sees sin to be exceeding sinful, and is ready to cry to the Almighty, Lord, help, or I perish! save me, or I am undone forever! then it seeth itself miserable; but it is for want of Christ: and when Christ is come into the soul, then its misery vanisheth, or flieth away. But from day to day and week to week, yea, all the days of one's life, to be miserable sinners, is a miserable case indeed, destroying the very nature of

Christianity: wherefore some tender, conscientious souls cannot join with such miserable sinners and sayers, who neither say nor do that which they ought.

Third; As to these sayings, "We are full of bruises and putrefying sores, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, and there is no soundness in us."

If a congregation of such people as these say truly, and if they do not say truly, what will the consequence be, let the wise in heart judge; can such a people be the church of Christ, or his spouse, or beautiful bride? Christ saith, "If the inside be clean, the outside will be clean also; and he came to cleanse the souls of poor mortals, and to heal them, and wash them from sin, and he doth it by his spiritual baptism and the fire of his word. The above-said church and people do both "Promise and vow that they will forsake the devil and all his works, the pomp and vanity of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh, and walk in God's holy will and commandments all the days of their lives," which is the very highest pitch of perfection any man or Christian can attain in this life; and yet, contrary to those vows and solemn covenants, they tell the Almighty, from time to time, that they are unsound, nay, that there is no soundness in them; but that they are putrefied from head to foot, and by their common practice intend to tell him so as long as they live in this life: this is unsound work indeed: and truly those who are tenderly conscientious may well scruple to join with it, or with those who are in such ways, words and works.



Those bruised, putrefied, sore, and unsound souls are therefore in Christian love tenderly advised to come to Christ, the physician of value, and great doctor of the soul, that he may heal them, and wash their sinful souls and unsound hearts, "By the washing of regeneration, and renewing of his word and spirit." "Ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you," saith our Saviour. They were cleansed by putting his word in practice; for, saith Christ, "He that heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him to a wise man;" so, consequently, he that doeth them not is foolish, sinful, and unclean.

Fourth; And further, say they, "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done." Doing the truth and that which is right, is what we ought to do; and committing sin is that which we ought not to do: certainly any man would think it mockery if his children or servants should serve him so from time to time, and make a common practice of it. By this confession, if it be genuine, it appears they must needs know better than they practise, they knowing what they ought to do, but not doing it; and our Lord Jesus Christ saith positively, "He that knoweth his master's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes;" and again, "Be ye not like the scribes and pharisees; for they say, and do not; therefore be ye not like unto them."

But what can be expected from those who say they sin in their best duties? If so, they sin whenever

they read the common prayers ; and by the same rule, the oftener they read them, the oftener they sin ; wherefore, how can a sincere, devout soul, who unfeignedly loves the Lord Jesus Christ, so as to keep his commandments, — for that is to love him truly, and according to his own definition of it, “ If ye love me, keep my commandments,” saith Christ, — I say, how can any such sincere soul join with such wrong-doers and sayers ? It must needs be an unsafe practice to do what we know should not be done, the nature of such doings being provoking either to God or man : what man in the world would like it, in either son or servant ?

Oh ! what would become of poor, degenerate man, if the Lord Almighty were not very indulgent, if he were not a God gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great loving-kindness to poor mortals !

Fifth ; And as to their singing David’s psalms in metre, how often do they sing that which is not true as to themselves, and also that which is not according, but contrary to their states and conditions ? As when they sing, “ That they water their couch with their tears,” and that “ they practise what they know ;” when they confess they “ Do that which they ought not to do, and leave undone that which they ought to do.”

The apostle said he would “ Sing with the spirit, and with the understanding also.” And again, “ We know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with

groanings which cannot be uttered." In the primitive times of Christianity they prayed and sung as they were helped by the Holy Ghost, or Spirit, and not by book, or stinted or set forms; but, oh! the primitive soundness of Christianity is too much lost and defaced; and therefore some who desire to come again to the primitive soundness and purity of the Christian religion, scruple to join with such unsound formalities, and that conscientiously, for the reasons above, and more which might be given.

When such scruples are mentioned, the members of the Church of England usually reply, that the Scriptures vindicate them in their form, which, how well they do so, let it be freely and fairly examined, not for contention, but for edification in the pure love of Jesus.

First; "The Scripture saith, that there was a people that was full of bruises and putrefying sores," etc.

Answer. But that was in the time of the law, when the people had transgressed the law, and were under the law; for had they done their duty, and kept the law, they could not truly have said so. They were then indeed gone astray like the lost sheep, and that brought them into that sore, putrefied state and bruised condition, and "Their law did not make the comers thereunto perfect; yet, as saith the apostle, the bringing in of a better hope did," which was the hope of the gospel. The apostle preaches perfection under the gospel dispensation, though some of our

worldly-wise men will not allow of it; and I hope we are not under the law, but under grace; the law of the spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, doth set the true believers free from the law of sin and death; so that a true Christian cannot say truly, with the false and rebellious Jews, of whom the prophet there speaks, "That he is full of putrefying sores, and that there is no soundness in him, and say it all the days of his life."

Second; Again the Scripture saith, "I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me."

Answer. The psalmist was at that time under deep convictions for the sins he had been guilty of in the matter of Uriah; but by his expressions in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh verses of the same psalm, it is plain he believed a better state attainable. And surely these expressions cannot be applicable to all men, at all times. No, surely, if we believe Christ and the holy Scriptures, whose doctrine is holy, and commands holiness, in both Testaments. And if people would walk in the holy light of Christ, who enlightens every man that cometh into the world, as recorded in the holy Scriptures, they would then be cleansed from their sin, from both the act and the imputation, as saith the apostle: "If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, then have we fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin."

Third; "There is none that doth good, no, not one."

Answer. It is beyond all doubt the apostle spoke of

the people in their unconverted state; for if they had been come to the work of conversion and regeneration, they must, and it is impossible but that they should do some good; and though there was a time that none did good, it was under the law, and not under grace; and spoken of the unbelievers, and not of believers: especially since Christ has brought a covenant of grace, in order to teach and help us to live righteous, virtuous, holy, religious, and sober lives and conversations.

Fourth; They object the words of our Saviour to the young man in the gospel, where he calls Christ good master, asking him, "What good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?" Christ answered, "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God."

Answer. And true it is, in our Lord's sense, for comparing men to Christ, who is God, there is none good; the young man thought he had been speaking to a man like himself, and knew not that he was speaking to the good and gracious Son of the most high God. But if we compare men with men, it must be granted that there are some good men, women, and children, in that sense; and our Lord sheweth how we may know these good men, women, and children. "By their fruits ye shall know them; men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles: a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can an evil tree bring forth good fruit; wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them." How plain is the doctrine of

Christ, if people would but lend an obedient ear, and give him a faithful and sincere heart, and serve him in a pure mind, without deceit or guile, taking up his holy cross to the corrupt will of man, in true self-denial. The Scripture says, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness:" where then is the sin, when God has cleansed us from all unrighteousness? Indeed it is very meet and our duty to confess our sins; they truly say, that,

Fifth; "The Scripture in sundry places excites us to confess our sins."

Answer. For poor mortals have all sinned, and by this sinful nature we are all children of wrath, and this is a strong and mighty motive for us in truth to confess our sins, because God is so just and merciful to forgive and pass by our iniquities; and indeed if the weight of our sins were upon us, and the true sense of the heinousness of sin and evil, it would certainly bow us in deep reverence and humility before the throne of grace, and melt our spirits into tenderness before the Most High. Then it is that he forgives us, and cleanseth us from all iniquity, and would, according to the apostle's doctrine, "Purify us to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works," and against bad works and words, and thoughts also: and when God hath so cleansed the soul, then, of course, these common, and often repeated, dry confessions, full of sin and putrefaction, must fall, and we should fear to offend any more. Let it be ten-

derly, and in Christian love, asked, how often do our Common-Prayer people go into their closets, or privately retire into some secret place, and there pour out their cries and tears to the Almighty, and humbly confess their faults to him alone? I ask, would not such an exercise be more acceptable to God, than a popular repetition, daily and formally made? This I leave to the consideration of all sober Christians, and to the judgment of the truly pious. And how like mockery it looks, that as soon as they come from their prayers and confessions, many of them will vainly laugh, and be full of idle words and discourse, and some of them curse and swear, and take the awful and sacred name which they have been addressing, or pretending to address, in vain, and profane that holy name of God and Christ, which they have been using in their devotion. To this I have been an eye- and ear-witness, many a time, to the sorrow and grief of my soul, and which hath, in part, occasioned these lines; also hoping it may be a motive to stir up some to more holy living, and that the name of God and Christ might be glorified, and the precious dear-bought soul saved. Let us also remember that the holy Scripture doth abundantly require and command us to forsake our sins; the text says, "He that confesseth and forsaketh his sins, shall have mercy."

Sixth; And whereas the apostle John, in his first general epistle, writes, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves;" from whence it is objected, we ought always to confess our sins.

Answer. Yes, we should do so whenever we commit any, or knowingly do evil; but when the Almighty hath cleansed us from all unrighteousness, then our sins are done away by the grace of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and we are washed by regeneration; then it cannot be true to say we are miserable and putrefied sinners, when at the same time also Christ hath purified and sanctified his church and people.

That is true which St. John saith, when opening and explaining the eighth verse, "If we say we have not sinned, we make him (*i. e.*, God) a liar;" for all have sinned! So it is plain that he speaks of the state of man before he comes to the work of conversion, or to be renewed by grace; for when we come truly to know Christ, and to see and believe in him, we witness a change from our corrupt and evil nature, and sinful course of life, which is clear, from the same apostle's words, which I shall transcribe for the information and edification of any who may see this.

The first general epistle of John, the beloved disciple of our Lord, says, "Whosoever abideth in him (*i. e.*, Christ), sinneth not: whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither known him. Little children, let no man deceive you: he who doeth righteousness, is righteous, even as He is righteous: he who committeth sin, is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is



born of God. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness, is not of God;" and as above, "he who committeth sin, is of the devil."

This is naked truth, without any covering, and the very sum and substance of pure religion. Oh! that all true Christians would lay it to heart, and ponder it in their minds, and then resolve whether they will be sinners to the end of their days, or whether they will repent, and turn from the evil of their ways; the latter of which, that poor mortals may come to witness for themselves, is the desire and prayer of my soul.

If it be further objected, "That our Saviour taught his disciples a form;" he did so; and a glorious form it is; and they did as they prayed, and were taught of Christ, and so they did it truly, and in true faith, believing they should witness what they said and prayed to be fulfilled. "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen."

Christ said to some of old, "Ye are of your father the devil, because his works ye do." And all sin is his work, and by our works we are manifest, whether we are the children of God or of the devil.

*A Letter to a Friend in Ireland, containing a Relation of some Sorrowful Instances of the Sad Effects of Intemperance, as a Warning to Young People.*

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PREFACE.

TEMPERATE READER,—

The longer we live in the world, the more we see the danger and many mischiefs, miseries, and inconveniences, intemperance occasions to mankind, not only in eating, clothing, buying and selling, etc., but particularly in that great sin of drinking to excess. And though a risk is run of incurring the displeasure of some ill-natured over-lovers of strong liquors, the which hath been experienced by the author, through some of the former impressions; yet they having found such general acceptance in many parts of the world, and being serviceable to people of all persuasions, for the further service of poor mortals, I venture to put forth this tenth edition, with this additional preface, in order, if possible, to persuade all rational souls to forsake so destructive and vile an evil.

First; Then, in the aged it hath these bad effects, viz.: they are bad examples to the youth, who, when reproved, may reply, My father before me loved strong liquors, as well as I: he loved a glass of wine; he loved a bowl of punch; he loved good cider and good ale, and would be merry with it, and why may not I,

as well as he? He was a wise, good man, when he was sober; and pray where is the harm of loving good liquor, and being merry?

What can we say to the youth of such parents that will avail, while their parents show them such evil examples? And as it is in that, so it is in all other evils, parents' examples are very hurtful in evil things, though very helpful in that which is good. If a man sees a youth to be out of order, and reproves him for being in drink, evil speaking, pride, covetousness, etc., and he guilty of the same, his child may answer, Why, father, I had not done so, if I had not seen thee, or you, do it! And it being an incumbent duty in a father, mother, master, or mistress, to reprove their youth for evil; if we are not clear in ourselves of what we reprove in our children or servants, and our children or servants miscarry through our bad example, what a melancholy reflection will that be to us, if rightly considered! which indeed would be this, I have been instrumental to my poor child's ruin and destruction! A melancholy reflection to any sober Christian.

Also, except there is a large income, instead of taking care to put the youth in a reputable way to live in the world, it brings them to poverty; and if there is a large estate, it puts them in the way to spend it. And, oh! how many are spending their precious time in taverns and ordinaries, and at the same time their wives and children suffering and weeping at home? And some sober, modest women

would suffer unspeakable hardships before they would expose their husbands.

Second; Concerning the youth, it mightily hurts them, as it doth the aged also, as to their religion, reputation, health, and estate, etc.

First; As to their religion, it not only clouds their understanding, and darkens the nobility thereof, but it unfits them for all and every religious duty.

Second; Some who value a good name, had rather lose their lives, than lose their reputation through immoderate drinking. For if the youth be single, and addicted to immoderate drinking, no wise and virtuous person will tie themselves to them for life, by marriage; which state of life, to a wise and virtuous pair, is far exceeding in happiness all other company or conversation whatsoever. It is better to be one of these than to enjoy a kingdom: and on the other hand, it is better to be a slave than to be married to an intemperate person.

Third; Intemperance destroys the health of the body, which we generally esteem before wealth. And if a man were a king, prince, or duke, if he did not enjoy his health, what good would all his honor, power, and wealth do him? Oh! what abundance of young people have destroyed themselves by this sin? As it is written: "The wicked do not live out half their days:" and where this sin is growing general in a country, that country is growing to its ruin and destruction. It wastes the people, decays trade, and is very destructive to religion, and an inlet to

Atheism. Good people are afraid to live in such a country ; bad people flock to it, and often make their exit in it.

Fourth ; And many a fair estate has been embezzled and spent through intemperance, which honest parents, with great labor, care, and industry, have got together, and left to their sons and daughters, who have extravagantly spent it upon their lusts ; and thereby have brought infamy on themselves, their fathers, and their posterity, whenever it has pleased God that they have left any behind them ; besides, which is worst of all, dishonoring God, and bringing a scandal on the Christian religion.

Some of our wise kings and queens in Great Britain, being sorrowfully affected with the heinousness of this great sin, have made strict laws against intemperance : and where the legislative authority makes little or no provision against it, or when they do make any, do not take care to put it in practice, such a state or colony must needs be in a declining condition. And for particular families and persons, we may see too much of this evil in our neighborhoods, almost in all parts of the world, which causes sober and truly religious Christians to mourn, and humbly to bow before the most high God, begging of him, for Christ's sake, that he, by his mighty power, would be pleased to reform the unregenerate world.

This is the prayer and fervent desire of an entire lover of mankind, both body and soul, and who desires their welfare in this, and in the world to come.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

BARBADOS, *7th of First month, 1718-19.*

MY DEAR FRIEND, —

It is long since I had a line from thee: but not long since I thought of thee and thine, with Friends of your nation; where I know that the Lord hath a seed, who love him, and desire to serve him, and are accounted to him for a chosen generation; and that this generation may spread and prosper in the earth, is at times my earnest travail in spirit both night and day. There is also an exercise upon my mind for the offspring of this seed, the children of those men and women who have confessed the name of Christ before men, in a holy, self-denying life and sober conversation; and I do certainly know, that many pious souls join with me in this exercise, bowing the knee to the Lord of Sabbaths, for the peace, prosperity, and eternal welfare of the present rising generation. Oh! how exercising it is to good men and women to see their youth take those ways which lead to destruction, and go in company with the wicked, whose ways lead to the utter ruining of both body and soul, and whose steps take hold on hell.

A great evil, to which many are prone, is keeping vain and idle company, which has brought many young men and young women to their utter ruin and destruction, both body and soul. How many fair estates have been wasted! How many fine youths have been destroyed by keeping evil company, and by excess in drinking, it is really lamen-

table to consider ! It keeps the poor in poverty : it makes the rich many times poor ; and brings both rich and poor into disgrace : it breaks and destroys the health and natural good constitution of the body, and instead thereof fills it with misery and pain : and which is yet more, it destroys the soul, which is the most noble part of man : so that it is a sore and threefold evil ; but the last is the worst, by how much the soul is the more lasting and better part. Several terrible instances of this nature I have met with in my travels among the children of men ; three or four of which I may inform thee of ; and it may be affecting to thee, as it hath often been to my mind, when I have thought thereon.

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*The First Instance of a Young Man given to Ill Company and Hard Drinking.*

THE first is of a certain young man, a physician by profession, who was much addicted to evil company, and to drink hard, and was sometimes visited with strong convictions ; in one of which visitations he sent for me, and told me his condition, and made solemn covenants, " If God would but that once spare him, he would not do the like evil again." At that time it did please the Almighty to spare him : but he soon forgot how it had been with him, and fell into the same sin again ; although he had a most notable admonition in a dream, but a little before.

His dream was this, which is very remarkable ; we being then at sea, in sight of Great Britain. He saw in his dream a great and spacious town, the buildings high and streets broad ; at which he landed, and going up the street he espied a large sign, on which was written in great golden letters, SHAME, to which he went, and at the door stood a woman, with a can of drink in her hand, who asked him to drink ; to which he replied, " with all his heart, for he said he had drunk nothing but water a great while ; " so he took the can, and drank a hearty draught, which, as he said, made him merry, and he went reeling up the street ; when behold, on a sudden, a grim fellow met him, and arrested him in the name of the governor of the place, before whom he brought him. This governor, he said, was like a great black dog, the largest he ever saw, who grinned at him, and passed sentence on him ; and sent him to prison, there to live forever. He told me this dream with such emphasis as made me to tremble, which was interpreted to him. I told him that he was an ingenious young man, and might easily discern the interpretation of this dream, which to me seemed to be ominous to him. " The great town and high buildings are thy great and high profession ; the sign on which SHAME was written, with the woman with the can at the door, show the great shame of the sin of drunkenness, and that is thy weakness ; and that grim fellow that arrested thee, is death, who will arrest all mortals ; and the great black dog, the governor



of the place, is the devil; who, when his servants have served him to the last, will torment them forever." "God forbid, it is but a dream," was his answer to me. I said it was a very significant one to him.

About three days after the same person went on board a ship, whose loading was wine and brandy. The master gave a can of wine to him, and said the same words as the woman said to him in his dream, and he answered with the same expressions, and it had the same effect upon him. He took such a hearty draught as made him too merry, insomuch that he overset the boat, and was drowned, much in drink: and I seeing him sink down, and his dream so punctually fulfilled, I was very heavy in my mind for several days.

Oh! methinks I could wish that the many righteous judgments of the Most High might effectually work on the hearts of those people who are in the flower of their age, to their conversion and salvation.

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*The Second Instance of a Merchant addicted to the like Destructive Practices.*

THE second is of a merchant, about thirty-five years of age, whom I saw take leave of this world: he was one who had spent much time in keeping unprofitable company and over drinking, which practice wasted his strength and flesh, as it did his time

and money, and brought him into a deep consumption; as it has many to my certain knowledge; besides bringing the racking painful distemper of the gout, and many other miseries; so that at last it brought him to his chamber, and then to his bed. In his sickness he several times sent for me, and made serious acknowledgments of his "former mispent time, and hoped, if the Lord would spare him, to be more careful for the time to come." But he was no longer to be trusted in this world; for he went not out until he was carried in his coffin: he held my hand fast in his until he died, and was sensible to the last.

One day, as he lay on his death-bed, he called me to him into his chamber, and "Charged me to caution the young people to be careful how they keep, and spend their time in, evil company, for it had been his ruin, and now lay as a great and heavy burden on his conscience. Oh! said he, if they did but feel one quarter of an hour what I feel, they never would keep such company any more: tell this to my former companions."

And indeed there is a great deal of hurt done by young men getting together to drink wine, or other strong drink. I wish the woe, mentioned in the holy Scriptures, may not be the portion of many of them; "Who are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink;" and sit late at it, which many times brings suffering on parents, wife, children, and servants, as well as themselves; and is a very dis-

orderly practice, being a reproach to all Christian societies and families, wherever such things are.

There is a great concern upon me against this growing evil in our young generation ; and I hope, in Christ our Lord, that heads of families will come under the like exercise in themselves : and then, if our youth will neither hear nor fear the Lord, nor us, we shall be clear, and their blood will be on their own heads, as a worthy and honorable elder, and man of God, of your nation, said ; one of whose offspring is the third subject that I shall mention to thee, of the many I have been acquainted with in my pilgrimage here.

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*The Third Instance of another Young Man, who much embraced the same Destroying Delights.*

THE 5th of the First month, at Bridgetown, in Barbadoes, S. E., son of W. E., died. His death was sudden ; and as was reasonably supposed, he destroyed himself by drinking and undue company-keeping, and sitting long at it. A person, to whom he himself had told it, told me, "That he and four more, at one sitting, drank above twenty quarts of double-distilled rum punch ; which put him in a violent fever : so that he ran about the streets, with a naked sword, and talked of killing one of the neighbors, in this drunken fit." The next day he came to me, and asked me, "Whose door the blood would have lain at, if he had,

in that fit of disorder, killed anybody?" By which query, I thought he was not yet rightly come to himself: because there were some ordinary reports about the town concerning him, he reckoned those who broached and spread those reports, would have been culpable, and must have answered for the murder, if he had committed any: but this was but covering his sin.

He seemed to fall out with religion too; for he said, "He would come no more to worship, till he should have justice done him, as to the reports:" though, poor soul, he had the more need to present himself before his Maker, and bow before the most high God, and repent in great humiliation. The same day in which he neglected his duty, he was taken sick, and that day week was buried. He sent for me, and I went to him: he had but little sense of his end, that I could perceive, and remained so till the night he died. I was by him when he died, and saw him fetch his last breath. A few minutes before he gave up the ghost, he trembled and shook exceedingly, and shrieked out, to the astonishment of all those present, which pierced my very soul within me: for he seemed to go out of the world in an extreme great agony.

I never saw any depart the world like him; and indeed it was amazing, and greatly affected my mind with sorrow; for I thought he was very unfit to die. Oh! methinks I could heartily wish, that such objects might be as so many strong motives, to stir up and

awaken the offspring of good men and virtuous women, and all professing Christianity, to fear the Lord and walk in his ways, which lead to life, where the sting of death is taken away.

The children of godly parents have much to answer for, in slighting or neglecting the wholesome counsel and faithful admonition, of their faithful and careful parents; whom they disgrace and dishonor, contrary to the command of God, who says, "Honor thy parents, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee:" and none can truly honor their parents, who dishonor God their Maker.

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*The Fourth Instance of a Young Woman, who often absented herself from Meetings for the sake of Bad Company.*

THE fourth instance which I shall give thee, is concerning a young woman of about twenty-five years of age; who was brought up very tenderly and delicately, with her lockets and chains of gold, and waiting-maid: but her parents living too high for their income, broke in people's debt; and their children as they grew up, were put to their shifts. What pity it is, that youth are not brought up to some business, whereby they may get a livelihood in the world, if their parents should die before them! And though parents may have a handsome interest in this world, yet it has been thought by great, as well as wise men,

that to put out youth to trades and business, is both profitable and honorable: instances of the evil consequences of the contrary have been very many, as woful experience doth daily teach us. This young woman was one: for falling into evil company, she ran into debt, and was put into prison; where was a murderer, whom, it was said, she was accessory to loose from his chains; and for so doing was put in chains herself, along with him, when he was taken again. Now, instead of her gold chain, she must take up with an iron one, and in a little time be tried for her life. In expectation of death, being in great distress, she sent for me, and entreated me to come and see her die, and much lamented her condition: "Oh! said she, that I might be a warning to all young people, to be careful that they keep not evil company, and spend their time which should be spent in worship, in airy company, and other vain diversions, when they should be doing their duty to God." And then she would weep bitterly; she being very penitent, it very much affected me; and I told her, "That I did believe, if she in her heart was clear, and noways consenting to the murder, her life would be given her; but then woe and misery would be her portion, if she did not amend her ways." And as I was leaving her, she charged me, "To warn young people that they might be careful that they spend not their time in vanity, and to keep out of vain and wicked company," which she said had brought her to that misery and shame: "And that they should take

the counsel and advice of good friends, which if I had done, said she, I had not brought reproach on my friends and on my parents."

In a little time after, she was brought to a trial, and acquitted by the jury. I saw her once since, and reminded her of her duty; which, she said, "She hoped to perform; and that it should be a warning to her while she lived in this world:" and that such examples may be a warning to all people, is the earnest desire of a lover of souls, and servant of Jesus.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

Since I wrote the foregoing, there being a person in this place who would be sometimes overtaken in drink, I sent it to him to copy over, hoping it might have some good effect on him. Before he had copied the relation of the first person, he was so smitten with the sense of the judgment of the Almighty, that he cried out, and said, "He was a condemned person, and that he felt the fire of hell." He sent for me and several others, and begged of us to pray for him: he was told, "That the hand of God was upon him for sin, and desired to take warning in time, and repent, lest the Lord should cut him off in his iniquity." The Lord did accordingly cut off this person, he dying suddenly, by hard drinking, as I was informed by a letter from Barbadoes; though he promised, "If the Lord would spare him then, to be more faithful for the time to come; and was then under deep inward exercise of mind. I mention this

as a corroboration of the above instances, for further admonition. This person was in a considerable post in that government: his name I forbear to mention, for divers reasons. If thou and Friends see meet, I could desire, from the exercise that is on my mind, that this might be spread; peradventure it might have place with some, for their good.

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*A Letter to Aquila Paca, High Sheriff of Baltimore County, in the Province of Maryland, and to other Friends there.*

BARBADOES, 1st of Twelfth month, 1718.

LOVING FRIEND, AQUILA PACA, — Meeting here with Captain Swaddle, bound for your river, I found a concern on my mind to send a few lines, remembering the good opportunities I had at your meeting in that neighborhood, together with those few poor honest souls that I met with there; and I desire thee to give my dear love in Christ to them.

Dear friend, I am tenderly concerned in the love of God and his dear Son, to beg of thee, that thou let not the world, nor any thing therein, either the riches, pleasures, or friendship thereof, draw thy mind from that measure of grace which hath been manifested to thee; for God hath visited thee in his tender love and mercy, as thou well knowest, and hath begotten good desires in thee, and convinced thee of the



holy truth as it is in Jesus. Oh! saith my soul, that thou mayest more and more grow therein, to thy bringing forth much good fruit, to the glory of God, and the eternal good of that part in thee which will never die.

Salute me to thy wife and children, and the neighbors, and their children also, all of whom I wish well in this world, and also in that which is to come, the same I wish to all those who love Christ, so as to keep his commandments.

If thou seest meet, thou mayest read what follows at the close of your meeting on a First day, which meeting I hope you keep up in order to worship God in Christ's name; for to such as meet in his name, he hath promised to be in the midst of them, wherever they so meet; which he hath graciously fulfilled at many times.

Dear Friends, it is in my mind to visit you with the salutation of brotherly love, in our holy Lord Jesus Christ, and may let you know, that though I have been long absent from you in body, yet have I been often present in spirit with you, and you have been often in my mind, with prayers to the Lord for your growth in the holy truth, which he hath been pleased to make known to you; and many times I have desired the Almighty, that he would be pleased to preserve a seed in your parts that should serve him, and be accounted to him for a generation. I have also desired that the Lord would visit your young ones, and bring them to the knowledge of his truth: and I pray God,

that the tender visitation that was on divers of them, when I was present with you, may never be forgotten by them, but that they may be plants of righteousness, of God's own right-hand planting.

And, dear Friends, forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, in the name of Christ, remembering how you have been visited with the heart-melting power, and the sweet presence of the Most High, in your silent waiting on, and worshipping him in his holy Spirit and truth, as well as when you have been vocally visited by the ministers of Jesus.

Such worshippers, as our Lord said to the woman of Samaria, the heavenly Father seeketh to worship him; and those whom God finds under such exercise, such find him to be unto them all in all; he is unto them wisdom, righteousness, justification, sanctification, and redemption.

Oh! dear souls, look to him who is invisible to the outward eye, who is God over all, and is blessed for ever: and may you, if this comes to you, feel the divine life and spirit of Christ, in the reading of this little epistle of brotherly love.

Live in love, for God is love, and all those who dwell in divine love, dwell in God; wherefore love one another, that thereby ye may be known to be Christ's disciples: "For," says he, "by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another;" or, "if you love one another," as one of the evangelists hath it.

Keep low in mind and humble in spirit; for the

humble, God will teach of his ways, and the meek he will guide in judgment, and those whom he teaches, are taught the mysteries of his kingdom, which mysteries he teaches to spiritual babes and sucklings, glory to his holy name! He often hides those holy mysteries from the wise and prudent, and reveals them unto such men, women, and children, as are little in their own eyes, and despised by the wise in natural wisdom, or the wisdom of this vain world.

Oh! mind your heavenly Guide, dear Friends, let me entreat you; for he leads out of all sin, and out of all vanity and evil, of what kind soever; and as our Saviour saith, into all truth. When Christ comes by his grace and spirit into the heart, he opens the soul and enlightens the understanding, even in our common conversation; and much more, at times, in our solemn meetings, when we meet together to worship and serve him; so that it is good to wait upon the Lord, and to seek him with the whole heart.

Dear Friends, though my heart is full of love and good will to you at this time, as at many other times also, I must now conclude, and commit you into the holy arms of Him who is love, begging the God of love and peace to keep you, and preserve you to his heavenly kingdom; to whom be all glory and praise, might, majesty, and divine dominion, through his dear Son and the holy Spirit, for evermore.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

*Christ's Kingdom exalted ; being a Short Essay in order to promote Truth and Righteousness in the Earth, and to discourage Unholiness, Ungodliness, and Unbelief.*

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### PREFACE.

CHRISTIAN READER,—

In order to promote and exalt the kingdom of the dear Son of God, according to the gift and measure of grace received, I was concerned to write the following tract at sea. Considering the evil tendency of the belief and principle which has overspread a great part of the professors of Christianity, that we cannot be free from sin in this life, which is contrary to the doctrine of the holy Scriptures of both the Old and New Testament, I could not be easy in my mind, without opposing such a dangerous tenet. For if we believe that we must always sin, this being a sinful faith, "according to our faith, so it will be unto us;" and if we die in our sins, Christ hath told us, where he is gone, we cannot come. And holy record informs us, that no unclean thing can enter God's kingdom.

I have, also, for the satisfaction of the true Christian believer, collected the following texts of holy Scripture, which maintain the doctrine of holiness and perfection, and directly oppose that evil principle, that we can never be free from sin in this life.

"Walk before me, and be thou perfect."

"Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy."

"And ye shall be holy men unto me."

"Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generation."

"Without holiness, no man shall see the Lord."

"We should be holy, and without blame before him, in love."

"To present you holy, unblamable, unreprouvable, in his sight."

"If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy, for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are."

"So be ye holy in all manner of conversation, because it is written, be ye holy, for I am holy."

"What manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness."

"Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God."

"The Lord said, Job was perfect and upright."

"Be ye therefore perfect;" the words of Christ.

"I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one."

"Howbeit we speak wisdom among them who are perfect."

"Finally, brethren, be perfect, be of one mind."

"That we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus: that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God."

"Now the God of peace, etc., make you perfect in every good work."

"That ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing."

"Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God."

"Unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

"This we wish, even your perfection."

"Let us go on to perfection."

"Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."

"Ye have overcome the wicked one;" this is twice repeated in one chapter.

"Ye are of God, and have overcome."

"Whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the world," etc.

"To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life."

"He that overcometh, shall not be hurt of the second death."

"To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna."

"To him that overcometh, will I give power over the nations."

"He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment."

"Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out."

"To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne."

"He that overcometh shall inherit all things."

Consider, then, courteous reader, I pray thee, for what are all this language of the Spirit, all these words of God, and all these commands, exhortations, and glorious promises? What is the end and tendency of them?

If the Almighty commands things that cannot be done, what will that make of him? If his servants labor and exhort us to things not to be done, where will those absurdities land? Surely it must centre in the mouth of the unprofitable servant, and such as charge God foolishly. And are all those glorious promises made to put us on to fight against sin and Satan, without a possibility of overcoming? God forbid; and may he, Christian reader, forbid also that thou shouldst believe such a gross and palpable error.

Oh! that the Almighty Lord may send forth more and more his holy light and truth, and thereby lead and guide the inhabitants of the earth; so that they may not give up the cause of Christ, but manfully resist, even to death, that at last they may have a crown of life.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

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IN the Christian world, it is too generally believed, that on this side the grave people cannot be free from sin. This principle, or belief, is a great hinderance to the glorious work of reformation, and mightily obstructs people in their way to eternal glory. It tends to uphold the kingdom of Satan, which every good Christian, with St. Paul, should be for pulling

down ; and in order to do this, should make use of the weapons which he did, that is, the armor of light, viz. : The preparation of the gospel of peace, the girdle of truth, the helmet of salvation, the breastplate of righteousness, the shield of faith, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. This is indeed a holy war, to war against sin and Satan ; and the armor of light is also heavenly armor ; and this holy apostle was a valiant soldier, who was also victorious in this war. Oh ! who would not enlist themselves under Christ's banner, and fight this fight of faith with courage and true Christian valor. Then would they witness the truth of that saying of the apostle, "That the weapons of this warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of the strongholds of sin and Satan." Oh ! down with those strongholds : let every lover of Jesus Christ pray that the kingdom of God and his Christ may be exalted forever. Sin is the chief support of Satan's kingdom, which Christ came to destroy and put an end to, and to bring in everlasting righteousness. He came to save his people from their sins ; as his doctrine in his excellent sermon on the mount, and his many other divine expressions, do plainly and abundantly manifest. Now considering the great evil of this dangerous principle, I have been deeply affected on account of poor mankind, to whose utter ruin and eternal destruction it most certainly tends. If we were to reason as rational beings, with what spirit and courage should we undertake any business, or concern, if before-



hand we were grounded in a belief that we could not perform our undertaking? Or what nation or people in the world would have any courage to oppose their common enemies, if at the same time they did believe they should never overcome them? Would not this abundantly dispirit and discourage them? let any rational soul judge. This belief of sinning to the end of our days, is a mighty engine of Satan to support his kingdom. Pray, what signify all the preaching and writing in the world against sin, though ever so elegantly or scholastically written or delivered by the greatest orators or ministers, if at the same time this doctrine be upheld and maintained in pulpits, prints, and otherwise, and received and believed by the people? Let truth and right reason in this matter bear rule and be judge, and the cause will be determined against sin and Satan: but the "Kingdom of Christ is an everlasting kingdom, and of his dominion there shall never be an end." This is a word of encouragement to the followers of Christ to be faithful to his commands.

Though the devil is king over all the children of pride and disobedience, and prince of the power of the air, yet "the Lamb and his followers will have the victory" over sin and him, although sometimes it may fare with them as with their Lord, who obtained it through sufferings; and let it be remembered by them, that they shall in the end reign with him. "Fear not little flock, says Christ, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

By which words, when received in faith, the soul is inspired with courage and holy boldness, to resist the tempter; though we may have the disadvantage of being but few, and Satan and his followers many, who support his kingdom with this sinful principle and doctrine above mentioned. One wily way which he useth to uphold his kingdom, is to wrest and abuse the holy Scriptures, and strain them to his evil purposes, as he served our Lord, the Captain of our salvation, as will be shown hereafter. When he makes use of any of the words of God, it is for an evil end, and that end must needs be wicked which is to keep people in sin, or to create a belief that we cannot live without it in this world; which, if he can obtain, and cause people to believe, he knows he hath a great advantage over them. For how should dust and ashes overcome sin, who confess they are, and believe they always shall be, sinners? Wherefore let us examine and see what use he makes of those Scriptures, which he brings to support people in sin, and by which he makes them believe they can never live without it; some of which are as follows, viz.: First, beginning with that saying of our Lord Jesus Christ, to a young man who asked him, "What good thing he should do to inherit eternal life," calling him good master. Our Saviour replies, "Why callest thou me good, there is none who is good, but one, that is God." The young man thought he was speaking to a mortal man; and it seems to have been the will of Christ, by this remark, both to caution his disciples

against the use of vain compliments, and to let them know that the young man had not true faith in him, as he was the Son of God. It is most certainly true, that in fulness and perfection there is no man good, compared with God; but comparing men with men, there are good men, women, and children, who fear God and do truly love Christ, and there have been a few such in all ages, and will be some such to the end of the world. To construe Christ's words otherwise, would be to abuse the holy Scriptures, which Satan makes a common practice of doing.

Second; Another is that expression of Solomon, "There is no man that sinneth not." The learned say this should be interpreted, and who may not sin. But though it may truly be said of men, in one part of their lives or other, or in the state of man in the fall, or degeneration, there is no man that sinneth not, yet in the regeneration or new birth, the apostle John, in the third chapter of his first epistle, and ninth verse, saith, that "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." It is this seed which would beget this new and living birth, which makes us children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven; and this, Satan would destroy, for he knows he shall have an enemy of every such soul, and therefore it is the devil's interest and endeavor to destroy every such birth, and the belief that Christians can live without sin in the world.

Third; "Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from sin." David prayed to the Almighty in his psalms; "Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right, or pure spirit within me;" which prayer was no doubt answered: but this is the work of God, and to him all things are possible, even that which looks impossible to men; for "He can make a man more pure than gold." So it being the work of God, no man can say, he hath done it, that he hath purified himself, or made himself clean. Can the Almighty make a man pure? It might with much truth be answered, he can; and it is supposed no good Christian will deny it: and then what will become of that absurd, antichristian, and antiscip-tural tenet, that we cannot be clean or pure from sin in this world?

It may be said, if there are any who live without sin, they are but very few: a sorrowful truth indeed! But is it not every one's interest to strive to be one of those few, as it is also his indispensable duty: our Lord also saith, that the way to his kingdom is straight and narrow, and that there are but few that find it. Must we therefore give up the cause, and not seek the kingdom, and because of the difficulty of Christ's cross here in this world, go in the broad way, where there is much room and company? May every true Christian say, the Lord forbid it, and I humbly pray, not only say, but do that which is right in the sight of God.

Fourth; The next is an expression of Solomon's,

"There is not a just man upon earth that doth good, and sinneth not." This should be interpreted as the former, and who may not sin: he speaketh of a man in the state of vanity and sin, before a reformation; for divine wisdom and the fear of the Lord, which he taught, keeps the heart clean, and preserves from the snares of sin, death, and the devil; so that this state of sin that he here speaks of, must be before man attains to the wisdom of God, and before he comes truly to live in his fear. He must certainly do good, who lives in the fear of God, "Which," as the same Solomon says, "is the beginning of wisdom; and to depart from iniquity is a good understanding." So that he shows man his state of vanity and sin, and teacheth people how to avoid it, by fearing the Lord and walking in the counsel of wisdom, *i. e.*, Christ's counsel, who is the wisdom of God to salvation. That all men are sinners before the work of conversion, is true, and that the devil intends to keep them there to their lives' end, is as true; and no likelier way can he do it, than by keeping them in a belief that they must live in sin, and cannot live without it whilst they live in this world; and when they come to die, then fear surprises the hypocrite, and terror takes hold of the ungodly: and many times, when too late, they see the snares which the devil and sin have brought them into. Oh! what pity it is, that this veil of darkness is not done away in time of youth, strength, and health, when the bones are full of marrow, and the veins are full of blood: but the

design of Satan is to lead people on in this pernicious principle till death, and then before they are aware, they may drop into eternal woe and misery, where the wicked and the ungodly must be turned, with all them that forget God ; for in heaven, where Christ is, " If we die in our sins, we cannot come."

Fifth ; The apostle John writes thus, " If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us ;" which answers to the eighth verse, " If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves." The ninth verse fully lets us into the meaning of the eighth verse, *i. e.*, if we confess our sins, for all ought to confess, and also to forsake their sins, all having sinned, and being by nature children of wrath ; otherwise we have no assurance of mercy from the holy Scriptures ; then the Almighty " is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." And pray what sin is there when we are cleansed from all unrighteousness ? And then in the tenth verse he says, " If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar." There is no doubt that we have sinned, which is what the apostle plainly points at in the eighth verse. And if any man sin, " We have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ, the righteous : and God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins." But then we must repent and forsake,

if we expect to find mercy ; though we have sin, or have had sin, we must not always have it, for if we have it always, woe will be to us, according to the words of God and Christ. "Let no man," nor the devil either, "deceive you : he that doth righteousness, is righteous : he that committeth sin, is of the devil." This is plain and naked truth, let who will like, or dislike it. Further, in the ninth and tenth verses, he again repeats to the same purpose, saying, "In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil : whosoever doeth not righteousness, is not of God." Ergo, then he must be of the devil, while he is in unrighteousness.

There are divers other places in the holy Scriptures, which he abuseth in like manner, and which he and his children wrest to uphold him and his kingdom of sin and unrighteousness, and themselves therein. By the grace of God, we may see his wiles and delusions, and the rottenness of his cause, as also the unsafe and dangerous foundation of his building, though endeavoring to support the same, by that which was always designed to destroy him and his kingdom, *i. e.*, the holy Scriptures. May all men judge in this matter, whether that is a right spirit which would pick and cull out a few verses, and sometimes a few words out of a verse, in order to make them speak contrary to the whole scope and tenor, or tendency of the holy Scriptures, and to plant a belief that we shall never overcome sin and unrighteousness in this world, though the holy Scriptures all along exhort, and

teach us, to avoid sin and unrighteousness, and live a holy righteous life in this present world. I say, may all judge whether such a spirit can be of God, or whether it be not of, and from the father of lies. If it be plainly proved, that there have been those who have overcome sin and Satan, and that Christ and his holy apostles repeatedly exhorted to fight against sin and the devil, who is the author of all sin; and Christ faithfully promises most sweet and gracious rewards to those who shall overcome, in order to encourage the spiritual warrior to a faithful perseverance, and resisting of sin and Satan, then it is hoped that Satan will be wounded, his kingdom shaken, and this evil and destructive principle, in some measure laid waste, in some poor souls, into whose hands these may come.

First; Beginning with the great apostle of the gentiles, a notable soldier in the Lamb's spiritual war, "I have," says he, "fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all those that love his appearing." And if this be not encouragement, what is? He also saith, "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." Here is example, exhortation, and encouragement, with experience.

Second; Another of the apostles, John, in his first epistle, is positive that those young men he writes to had already overcome the wicked one. "I write



unto you," says he, "young men, because you have overcome the wicked one." And in the fourteenth verse he repeats it again, as though he would doubly and deeply imprint it in their minds, "I have written unto you young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one." Here were young men, who were truly valiant and noble, to wage war with the wicked one. If it was possible for them, why is it not possible for us also? Oh! that our young men of this generation would take those young men for their examples, to make war with the wicked one, and truly endeavor to pull down his kingdom. It is worth our notice, that those young men had the word of God abiding in them; by the sword of the Spirit they overcame, by it they were cleansed, by taking heed to walk according to its directions, as it is written, "Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his ways? By taking heed thereto, according to thy word." The great reason why young men are overcome, instead of overcoming, is their heedlessness to, and of the word; for notwithstanding their bones be full of marrow, and their veins full of blood, and nature strong, having many temptations to sin and evil, yet, by taking heed to the word, they might be reformed: and through the immediate power and strength thereof, may overcome the wicked one. Here were young men who actually overcame sin and Satan, to whom this holy servant of Jesus wrote, by way of encouragement. Is the arm of the Lord shortened? Surely

no. It is true mortals are short in their duty, but not the Almighty in his holy power, nor his dear Son, in his unparalleled love, and most pure doctrine: whose doctrine shall be set down, as the Spirit indited it to the seven churches in Asia.

First; To the church of Ephesus: "He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches: To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." Here is an excellent promise and blessed encouragement to such as believe, and are faithful, and are desirous to fight in the Lamb's war against sin and Satan. The same apostle gives a description of this tree of life, "That it bears twelve manner of fruits, and bears its fruits every month, and its leaves are for the healing of the nations;" which mystically points at Christ, who is faithful in his precious promises and doctrine, and has virtue in him, which through faith will heal the nations of the wounds which sin hath given them. Those who continually eat of the tree of life, shall live forever; but a flaming sword will turn every way, to keep the unbelieving sinner from it: none in a state of sin and disobedience can come to enjoy the paradise of God. The above is an excellent promise to all those who overcome sin and the devil, who is the author of it.

Secondly; To the church of Smyrna: "He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches: He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death:" which is that eternal

death which is in hell, or that lake of fire which burns forever, where the worm never dieth, and the fire never goeth out. This holy warfare is certainly a fighting for life, against eternal death and hell ; which is of much greater consequence than natural life and death. Oh ! fight for your lives against sin and Satan, against pride and vanity, and all manner of wickedness ; put on the whole armor of light ; look unto God, through Christ the victorious Lamb, that you may be saved from the lake of fire, and not be hurt of the second death. Oh ! may we know a dying daily to sin, to the world, the flesh and the devil, that we may live unto God, through faith in his dear Son Jesus Christ.

Thirdly ; To the church of Pergamos : “ He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches : To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna ; and I will give a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.” Here are four excellent promises to him that overcometh ; the Lord opens his treasury of life and of wisdom, in order to invite souls to the mighty battle of the Lamb, who is not like the princes of this world, who sometimes promise great things to their soldiers or followers, and do not perform ; but God’s promises are all yea and amen forever.

The first promise is, “ To eat of the hidden manna :” the children of Israel did eat manna, outwardly, as it is written, in the wilderness, and are dead ; but those

who eat of this hidden manna, this angel's food, who are hid with Christ in God, these shall never die, *i. e.*, spiritually, for his hidden manna is the flesh and blood of the Son of God, who said, "Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you."

The second promise is, "To have a white stone;" this stone is Christ, who is the chief corner-stone of God's building or church, the New Jerusalem, which the wise letter-learned master-builders set at naught; but he is the head of the saint's building or corner, and a holy precious stone, the elect or chosen of God, the gift of God, to all those who truly believe, and overcome sin, as he did; and as it is written, "If he give us his Son, shall he not with him freely give us all things?" This stone will certainly do miracles for them that have it, through the virtue of its power: it will procure joy in tribulation, patience in afflictions, health in sickness, riches in poverty, strength in weakness, liberty in bonds, and, to sum up all, which indeed is a great sum, life in death.

Third promise; "And in the stone a new name:" how many gay sparks and beaus would do abundance to gain honor, or a name among men? Nothing is dear to them in this world, neither their estates, nor the nearest relation they have in the world, so that they may gain a name here below; no, not even their own lives. But, oh! did mortals know the virtue of this new name, and were they in love with it, then the world and all its fading beauty and vanity would be nothing to them in comparison of it, which is

better than the names of sons of worldly glory, and daughters of honor; for those outward names are fading, viz., To-day a king, a prince, a duke, an earl, a lord, a knight, and, as has been and may be again, to-morrow on the scaffold: but this name which the King of kings giveth those who overcome sin and Satan, is a name which will outlast time, and endure to eternity.

Fourth promise is, that it should be secret, only to the world, but surely known to him that hath it. Great men, when their acts and titles of honor are blazoned abroad in the world, have many enemies who envy them; and yet some are so vain as to love grandeur and popularity notwithstanding; but he that hath a name which Christ gives, so long as he is sensible of it in himself, is therewith satisfied.

Now as this is the portion, and more which is hereafter mentioned, of those who overcome the wicked one, then, on the contrary, what will become of those who live and delight in sin, and are daily overcome with it? For the holy Scriptures are positive "That the wicked, with all those that forget God, shall be turned into hell." This is the determinate will of God; and that we may take the more notice of it, to observe and do his will, he hath caused it to be written down in the language of the holy Spirit, in the holy Scriptures of truth, which are of no private interpretation, but naked and open to mean capacities. The holy Scriptures are not to be interpreted to the private interest of any particular

person or set of persons only, but are a general benefit unto all the faithful believers and followers of Christ, through the whole world.

Fourthly ; To the church at Thyatira : “ And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations, and I will give him the morning star. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.” The Spirit still continues promising his gracious privileges upon condition of overcoming ; wherefore, if it had been impossible to have overcome sin and Satan, then all these promises would have been in vain, and the holy Scriptures deceiving, which would be to make Christ and the apostles deceivers ; but Christ, his apostles, and the holy Scriptures, are true, and every one who contradicts God, is a liar.

Let it be observed, that there must be a keeping the works of God to the end ; for divers have run well for a time, and overcome many sins, through the help and goodness of God, and yet afterwards have run into sin again, whereby they have grieved the good spirit of God, by which they should have been sealed to the day of redemption, and so the Lord hath taken his good spirit and gift of light and grace from them, and left them to themselves and their own hearts’ lusts. But such as hold out in well-doing to the end, the same shall be saved, and “ Those shall have power over the nations : ” the laws of men, or powers of earth or hell, cannot hurt them ; but they will be as kings and priests unto God, ruling over

their own spirits; and such an one is greater than one that ruleth a city, and cannot govern himself. Another excellent gift is promised here to the victorious Christian warrior, viz., "I will give him the morning star:" it is indeed a very comfortable gift to behold the morning star, after a long, tedious, stormy night, earnestly waiting for the morning. This morning star the writer of these lines hath witnessed, both as to his natural and spiritual travels; but especially in his inward condition as a Christian. Those that have a true sight and sense of this divine star, are made to rejoice; for then they do infallibly know, that the day of the Most High is at hand, and that his kingdom draws near unto them. Amen, holy Lord Jesus!

As the day star is the forerunner of the natural day, so is the heavenly morning star a forerunner of the day of the Most High to the soul.

Fifthly; To the church of Sardis: "He that overcometh shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot his name out of the book of life; but I will confess him before my Father, and before his angels. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." These promises of God, through his Spirit, and through his servant to the church of Sardis, are, that those who overcome shall be clothed in white raiment; and he says, in the fourth verse of the same chapter, that that church had a few in her, who had not defiled their garments, who should walk with him in white, for, saith he,

they are worthy. So that there were a few undefiled ones who had overcome; although others were blamable, whom the Spirit reproved sharply. But those who overcame were to be clothed in white raiment; which raiment is that clean linen called the righteousness of the saints, or elsewhere the wedding-garment, and the garment unspotted of the world, without having which, we may expect to be asked, how we dare presume to approach the holy presence of a just and righteous God, who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity with allowance or approbation, as it is written, "Friend, how camest thou hither not having on the wedding-garment?" And by the promise to the Church, that those who overcome "shall not be blotted out of the book of life," it plainly appears that the names of those who fight the Lamb's battle, and overcome sin and Satan, are upon record in heaven in the Lamb's book of life; and that though we may have done well or valiantly in some things, yet if we suffer ourselves to be overcome of sin, there is danger that we may have our names blotted out of the book of life.

The third promise is very excellent and glorious, viz.: "But I will confess him before my Father, and before his angels." Oh, wonderful honor! to have Christ confess that we are his and belong to him, and have been men of courage in this holy war, and overcome the enemy, and been victorious in this fight of faith; to confess us before God and his angels, must needs be unspeakable honor done to us before the



armies in heaven. He expressed again his often repeated advice to those who have ears, saying, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches;" which is much wanting among men, and also a believing heart. Is not God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost stronger than the world, the flesh, and the devil? But is not this belief of its being impossible to overcome sin, and saying that we cannot do it while we are in this world, as much as to believe and say, that Satan and nature are stronger than grace?

Sixthly; To the Church at Philadelphia the Spirit saith: "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, etc. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." Here is promise upon promise, all to persuade and invite people to fight the fight of faith, believing they shall obtain the victory, and to destroy the principle of unbelief. The overcomer, through grace, is to be made a pillar in the temple of God; that is, one of his church, who helps to support the credit of it, through a true Christian reputation in his conversation. Such an one is a pillar in the church militant here on earth, and will, if he is faithful to the end, be of the church triumphant in heaven also; and he will not go out any more, but will abide in, and with Christ forever. Here are gospel promises and privileges, happy are they who

through faith attain thereto; how much have Christians need to be concerned before God for the excellent gift of faith, since, "Without faith it is impossible to please God." Our Saviour saith, "If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say to this mountain, be removed, and cast into the sea, and it should be so." Now, though sin indeed has grown a very great mountain, in this generation, yet through true faith it is removed, according to the doctrine of Christ, blessed be his holy name. Upon those overcomers, the Lord hath also promised to "Write the name of God, and the name of the city of God, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down from heaven," which is the mother of all saints. Here is a train of glorious expressions and promises, enough to inspire the tender soul with strong desires after God and Christ, and his kingdom. My heart is deeply affected at this time, in the sense of the love of our heavenly Father; and my spirit is greatly concerned for the welfare of the children of men, my fellow-mortals. Oh! that they might believe, and that believing they might have life, through the name of Christ. It is observable, that to overcome, is the condition of obtaining all these great and glorious promises; and overcoming is repeated seven times; once to every church. And after all those glorious and fair promises, is not the consequence of saying or believing that sin and Satan cannot be overcome, to make Christ a deceiver? which is absurd and anti-christian doctrine.

Seventhly; To the church of Laodicea: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with my Father in his throne. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." What greater promise could Christ make to his church than this, to take her into his throne, and into his Father's kingdom, into his bosom of love? This is wonderful indeed. But then, oh, Christian! the condition is to overcome, as Christ overcame.

Now since it may be beneficial to Christians to understand, and to consider duly this great fight or battle, and how this great conqueror overcame, because we are to follow him, and to take him for our example, let us have a description of it, it being the greatest encounter or battle that ever was in the world, between the Prince of life and the king of the bottomless pit. The history of which is worth the reading of the greatest prince or monarch on earth, since they must leave this low world, and lay down all their crowns when death calls them. To fight this battle, and to follow this monarch, who hath all divine power in heaven and earth, and to take his direction, is every man's duty and interest, both noble and ignoble. The holy evangelists, Matthew and Luke, give us an account of this great fight, in the fourth chapter of Matthew, and fourth chapter of Luke, and agree in the most weighty matters, though they did not exactly word it alike, yet the substance

is the same, and the temptation, conflict, or battle, all one. First, Satan bids Christ, as Matthew and Luke have it, "Command the stones, or stone to become bread." Secondly, "To cast himself down from the pinnacle of the temple." Thirdly, "To worship the devil, or fall down to him."

"Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil." And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterwards an hungered. And when the tempter came to him, he said, "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." But he, *i. e.*, Christ, answered and said, It is written, man shall, or doth, not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple, and saith unto him, "If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down : for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee ; and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone." Jesus said unto him, It is written again, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." "Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them ; and saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan ; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Then the

devil leaveth him, and behold, angels came and ministered unto him."

Behold how the Saviour of the world overcame the devil and his temptations. As he did, so ought all Christians to resist the tempter, as it is written, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." Here we may see he is a conquered enemy; and we are told, "By Christ's spirit we must overcome, as he also overcame." After our Lord had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was hungry, at which time the devil urged him, if he was the Son of God, to make the stone or stones bread. After the same manner he tempts us poor mortals, by laying his snares and baiting his hooks, according to the nature and propensity of the person he is engaged withal. If a man, woman, or child be addicted to passion, pride, swearing, lying, drunkenness, taking the sacred name in vain, idle or vain discourses to steal away our precious time; let the sin be what it will, which we are most naturally addicted to, there will he lay his temptations, for he preys upon our weakness, and plies the weakest part in us most. For this reason we have need to keep a strict watch; as Christ advised, "Watch and pray continually, lest ye enter into temptation." It is no sin to be tempted, but the sin is to entertain and enter into the temptation; if we overcome, as Christ did, it is an honor to be tempted, and a secret joy springs in the soul, in a sense of its victory in sore conflicts between the enemy and the soul; the Lord manifesting his divine

grace for our assistance and help. Here we can take the advice of the apostle, when he says, "Count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations," and overcome them as Christ did, by resistance.

If it be objected, though Christ overcame, yet I am a poor sinful creature, and have no power; but he had and hath all power, both in heaven and earth, committed into his hands, so that he might well overcome. It is well if thou seest thou hast no power, and if thou also seest that Christ hath all power; then since we have no power of ourselves, we must by prayer and humble supplication apply to him for it in the time of need; believing that He who hath made so many encouraging promises as are before recited, hath also grace, and will give grace and glory, and power to those who will diligently seek him; else why did he make so many excellent promises to the spiritual warriors? It is worthy the notice of all, that Satan is a conquered and limited adversary.

It is a sweet portion of gospel tidings, and good news, that the devil cannot force any one, whether he will or not, into sin; for if he could, no flesh could be saved. If a man, woman, or child is tempted by Satan to tell a lie, he cannot force them to it against their will; so that there must be a cowardly giving way and falling from the Lamb's standard, or ensign, and going over to Satan, if man is overcome of sin and wickedness. For if we stand stiffly against him, although we may be weak of ourselves, our great Master, who seeth us in secret, if we cry to him for

help, will come to our assistance, even he whom Satan could never conquer. Therefore it is safe for all professing the name of Jesus Christ, to keep near to him, through faith in his name and power, which ever was and will be, a strong tower to those who fly thereto. Christ did not do as the devil tempted or persuaded him to do; but he withstood the temptation, with this reply, "It is written, that man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God:" for there is life in every word of God. Thus our Lord overcame him; for Satan cannot resist, so as to make void, or lay waste the words of God in the holy Scriptures of truth, when they are brought into our minds by his spirit, to uphold and promote the kingdom of God and Christ, and to destroy the kingdom of sin and Satan; though he, *i. e.*, the devil, makes use of those Sacred Writings, often wresting them, and bringing them for evil uses and wrong purposes, as most certainly he doth when he allegeth from them, that people cannot live otherwise than in sin.

"Then," as Matthew has it, "he took our Lord to the pinnacle of the temple, and bid him cast himself down; for," says Satan, "it is written, he shall give his angels charge concerning thee, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone." Though he was once overcome, yet he has boldness to tempt again: as Christ overcame him by his power, making use of the holy Scriptures, he now tries what he can do with the Scriptures; he tempts Christ with them,

that he might tempt his Father; and so he tempts poor mortals by the Scriptures, to keep them in sin, by making a wrong use of them, and misapplying them; and if he can hold them in sin, he knows it is a ready way to cause the Almighty to be angry with them; and if they hold out in it to the end, to turn them at last into hell, where the wicked must be turned. He begins his temptations with an "If thou be the Son of God," though he knew very well that he was the Son of God; yet like some of his evil seed, or seed of evil doers, he tempted him to show a sign; but our Lord did not gratify either him or them, but rebuked them both, as they well deserved; and so by denial and resistance he overcame; and we also must in the same way.

After this our Lord makes a right use of the Scriptures, saying, "It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." And truly, those who read the holy Scriptures, and know how much they speak against sin, and for righteousness, and who notwithstanding live in sin and ungodliness, and plead for it, even from these Sacred Writings, which were written on purpose to destroy sin, should seriously consider, whether they are not guilty of tempting God, which Christ says it is written thou shalt not do. Oh! that people would turn away from sin and Satan, and break off from their sins by repentance, and their iniquities by amendment of life, which is the way to have the days of their tranquillity lengthened out in this world, and to be happy in that which



is without end ; for it is written, " The wicked do not live out half their days ; " which, according to my observation, is a true general rule. How many have been taken off in their prime and strength, and in the flower of their years, who might, according to the course of nature, have lived many years, had they been sober and temperate, and lived in the fear of God ? If it be asked, do not pious young people die also ? Yes ; but not so frequently as intemperate ones ; I have had occasion to observe it in divers parts of the world ; and besides, if pious young people leave this world, their change is glorious : whereas the wicked and ungodly make a sad and bitter exchange. Since life is so uncertain, and death so sure and certain to all, what care and fear ought there to be on all, of offending so merciful a God, and so sweet a Saviour ; who overcame, to show us the way to overcome also ; and died for sin, that we might die to the world and the sinful part of it, and live to him, exhorting us to overcome, as he also did, and then promiseth to take us for his companions, with himself and his Father, in his heavenly kingdom.

Satan repeats his temptation a third time ; for he is an unwearied enemy, and will tempt poor mortals over and over, many times ; but he is to be resisted as often as he tempts, if we will follow the counsel and example of Christ : " He takes him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of it." A temptation which takes with abundance of souls : the

glory, riches, and greatness of this world, ruin many; they having it, and being swelled with pride therein. Some are destroying themselves to get it, and cannot attain it; and many would endeavor to create a belief that they are greater, richer, and more noble than they really are; which is a temptation of the evil one; for we ought to think meanly of ourselves; and if we will follow Christ's example, make ourselves of no reputation. When Satan would tempt us to be proud, or high of mind, we should resist, as Christ did, who said to the devil, "Get thee behind me, Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." If this holy rule was followed, as Christ instituted it, then we should overcome sin and Satan: Christ's institution is, that "The hour cometh, and now is, that those that worship the Father, must worship him in spirit and in truth." The duty of every Christian is to worship the Lord God of heaven and earth, and he only we should serve and worship; and that not in a formal way, but with hearts truly devoted to his will. We are to worship the Father in spirit and in truth, into which the devil can never come; though he may get into the form of it, he cannot overcome us, where the power of Christ is lived in; for by the power of God, which dwells in Christ, who overcame by the same power, Christians shall overcome. The devil was forced to fly when Christ resisted him, and so he will be when Christians resist him in Christ: and when Christ had overcome, then the angels came

and ministered unto him; likewise the guardian angel of God's presence will administer sweet comfort and pleasure to every soul who stands truly for the cause of God and Christ against sin and Satan, sincerely endeavoring to pull down Satan's kingdom, and sin which upholds it, and faithfully desire to exalt the kingdom of God and his dear Son.

He or she that believes and overcomes,—for without belief it is impossible to overcome,—is truly entitled to all the above precious promises and privileges. But the wrath of God will be revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, and against all those who hold the truth in self-righteousness, or unrighteousness. Again, "Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honor, and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile; for there is no respect of persons with God." The ways of God are equal, but the ways of man and Satan are unequal; sin, iniquity, and transgression are of the devil, and of man in the fall; but righteousness, holiness, and truth are of God, to which man is restored, through regeneration and reformation. Glory over all be given to God and the Lamb forever. Amen.

*Some Considerations on the Call, Work, and Wages  
of the Ministers of Christ.*

It hath been on my mind to write something concerning the work of the ministry of the gospel of Christ, with a design of instruction to ministers in particular, and also for the benefit of others.

It is an unspeakable benefit to mankind, to be favored with a powerful living ministry, which edifies the church of God, and builds up the true believers in the most holy faith, according to the word of God, in Christ Jesus, who is the great minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle, which God hath pitched and not man. This great Minister sent forth his ministers and servants, saying, "I send you forth as sheep among wolves, be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." He did not send them forth as lords over his heritage, nor as persecuting priests, or mercenary hirelings; but said to them, "Freely ye have received, freely give." No compulsion or force is enjoined by Christ; but it is plain, from his own doctrine and example, that his ministry is a free ministry, blessed be his holy name and truth forever: nor do we read or understand of any alteration thereof by Christ. The ministers of antichrist have made an alteration in their ministry; but the holy apostles, who, after Christ, were the first planters of Christianity in the earth, when it shone in its primitive beauty and glory, followed the counsel of their Lord and Master,

and ministered freely. Then was the power of Christ's ministry and gospel, through his ministers and servants, great, and the glory and beauty thereof ravishing to pious souls. Oh ! may every true minister and every sensible soul, bow before the Most High, and bless the holy name of Him that lives and reigns forever, for this unspeakable gift of Christ's holy ministry, which always was, now is, and ever will be, convincing and converting to souls who are not slow in heart to believe in God, and in his dear Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our great high-priest and the bishop of souls ; he saw the need that his church had of his ministry, and therefore he established it among his followers to the end of time.

In order to this great work, he told his disciples, when he was going into his glory and to the kingdom of his Father, "That he would pray to the Father, and he would send them another comforter, the Spirit of Truth, and that he should abide with them for ever." He also told them, that when he is come, he shall reprove or convince the world of sin, because they believe not in him ; for if they believed truly in Christ, they would love his spiritual appearance. But how many are there in the world, who slight this high favor, the grace of God and Christ, calling this wonderful gift the light of nature : whereas Christ says it is the Holy Ghost ; and the apostle Paul says, It is God's grace that teaches us to deny ungodliness, and hath appeared unto all men. O ! that the children of men might love Him who appears to them,

and convinceth them of their sins ; and surely it is a great sin not to believe in the spirit and light of Christ : such unbelieving souls are in darkness, and not yet turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the power of God, which is the very work Christ's ministers are sent of God to do.

Second ; He convinceth or reproveth the world of righteousness, because " I go to the Father and ye see me no more." When their righteousness is only wrought in the wisdom of man, and not by the power of God, whether it be in preaching or worship, when only the form, and not the power is witnessed, he then convinceth them that they have been building their religion upon a wrong bottom, and a sandy foundation ; and sheweth the formal minister, that he is only a minister of the letter, and not of the spirit ; and the formal worshipper, that he has not yet come to worship in spirit and truth ; and the professor of Christ in words, that he denieth him in works and inward faith ; because " Faith without works is dead," as works without this spiritual faith are dead also.

" Because I go to the Father," is the reason given by Christ, for it is Christ's righteousness that must save the soul, and Christ being gone to the Father, the soul must go there to him, for all his gifts and favors, mercies and blessings, and must witness him in spirit to be with them and in them, as he is in the Father. When Christ was personally on earth, he taught us by words vocally expressed ; but " Hence-

forth know we him so no more." Now he teacheth us by his spirit, light, and life, which convinceth us of form without power, letter without spirit, religion without life, righteousness without grace, and light and imputative righteousness without actual righteousness, and formal righteousness in our own wills only; all this, and much more, it convinceth us not to be effectual to salvation, and sheweth us that the spiritual power and presence of Christ are absolutely necessary for the work of the ministry and the conversion of souls.

Third; He convinceth the world of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged. He, the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, when he is come, sheweth us our wrong judgment, and convinceth us of the evil of being too censorious, rash and uncharitable in judging, and plainly giveth us to understand that such judgment is from the prince of this world, who is king over all the children of pride, and that this prince or evil spirit is judged by the righteous and just Judge of heaven and earth, Christ Jesus. He also convinceth us of the everlasting truth as it is in Jesus, and is our sure comforter, while we keep therein in doctrine, worship, and conversation.

Fourth; "He shall bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have spoken unto you." Wherefore this gift is absolutely necessary for a minister of Christ; and every true believer in him wants this remembrancer, which must be a great comfort to us, to have his excellent speeches and divine doctrine

brought by his own spirit to our remembrance, if we love him in sincerity.

Fifth; "He shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you," says Christ. Take of his light, his life, his grace, his wisdom, his mercy, peace and truth, and show it unto you. Oh, infinite love from a tender Saviour! Well may we admire his goodness, and entirely love him above all things in the world.

Sixth; Christ speaks in divers places concerning this wonderful and extraordinary gift of the holy Spirit; and in the fourteenth chapter of John he says, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." Oh! ye ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, in this his gift is your strength, your comfort, and your exceeding great reward, both here and hereafter, forever; far exceeding silver and gold, or the diadems of princes. The whole world, wanting this, lieth in wickedness, and must lie there unavoidably, if they have not the sense of this unspeakable gift. There cannot be salvation, nor any saving ministry without it; it being absolutely needful to the being and well-being of a minister of Christ. And indeed the holy text is plain and positive, that he that hath not the spirit of Christ is none of his; none of his minister, none of his believer. But if it should be objected, how shall we know the minister or the man



who hath this divine gift, or Spirit of Christ, since it may be pretended to both by the ministers and people, and yet they may not have it in reality? This indeed is a great point, and highly necessary to be searched into, which is to be known by our Lord's rule prescribed for that end. "Do men," saith he, "gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" Surely no. The grape is gathered from the vine, and the fig from the fig-tree. "Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them." Now those who have the Spirit, or Holy Ghost, bring forth the fruits of it: which fruits are love, charity, meekness, temperance, patience, experience, hope, faith, and wisdom from above, which is pure and peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, to all and everything that is good. And those who have the holy Spirit, bring forth the fruits of it as naturally as the vine doth the grape, or the fig-tree the fig. Also, whatsoever things are holy, just, honest, pure, and of good report, or tend to piety or virtue: in a word, everything that is good, is the fruit of the Spirit of God and Christ: and they are brought forth with divine life and power in that minister and people, who through true faith in the blessed Jesus have received the gift of the Holy Ghost, or Spirit of Christ.

The minister of the gospel being thus fitly furnished to every good word and work, is ready to answer the call of his great Lord and Master, who is in heaven; he wants not the call of man, nor authority from man, nor wages of man. But those who bring forth fruits

contrary to the above, can neither be true ministers, nor Christians, according to the doctrine of our holy Lord. Being thus qualified by the Most High, those ministers are freely given up to serve the Lord, and go wheresoever he is pleased to send them, though he send them as sheep among wolves: and it is worth noting, that Christ's messengers and ministers are called and sent of him; they do not run of themselves, nor in their will; which if they did, their end would be like the forward false prophets of old, who did not profit the people at all.

Our Lord seeing what need the world had of true teaching, and true teachers, sends his ministers forth into it, saying, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth, go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

Here Christ shows his ministers his power, and sends them forth in his own name, for there is none other given under heaven for salvation; and Christ comforts his ministers with a glorious promise, of being with them to the end of the world. Oh, the sweetness of this gracious promise! and such are all his promises, for they are yea, and amen, forever. Wherefore Christ's ministers may well go forth without doubting, having their authority from the King of kings. Again he saith, "Go ye into all the world,

and preach the gospel unto every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved ; but he that believeth not, shall be damned." Christ says, go ; but the world, the flesh, and the devil, say, stay ; for the spirit of sin and Satan is for obstructing the work of Christ, and hindering the free gospel ministry, and the motions of the word and testimony of Jesus ; and is for quenching it in those in whom it may appear. It is a new mode or fashion, contrary to the primitive order of Christ, for ministers to be tied to an outward benefit, or a particular meeting or congregation ; which way of preaching, or reading, reading being much in practice now, is quite contrary to the call and practice of Christ and his ministers, and of the martyrs, and confessors of Jesus ; as also of many of the most noted reformers in religion. But it is objected, if ministers should always go about among the nations, what would become of their families, or how must they live, and be maintained ? To which it may be answered, that when the ministers of our Lord returned to their Master, he asked them, " If they lacked anything ? " they answered, " No. " But instead of lacking anything, the devils were subject to them. Pray, let the serious Christian consider, here is now a wonderful change. Is it in Christ, or in the hireling, money-loving priest ? It is certainly in the man and not in Christ Jesus ; for he is the same to-day, yesterday, and forever. Where the power of Christ rules, there the devil and his power must of necessity be subject.

But some object, that people are not so free now; were there not a law to maintain ministers, the ministers might starve and perish in this generation; if so, then their ministry must starve the people's souls. But this thought of starving is for want of the gift of God and power of Christ; which power in the ministry would wonderfully open people's hearts towards God, and those who are his true servants; who said, "Freely ye have received, freely give." Oh! faithless generation! what, shall we mistrust Him who provides for all his creatures, even the ravens and sparrows, and will he not much more provide for his servants and ministers? How shall we receive power from on high, if we want faith, and cannot depend on the providential hand of God?

Christ sends his ministers into the world in order to propagate his gospel of salvation, and to let the world know that he is come to put an end to sin, and bring life and peace to the soul, according to the angel's testimony of him, that "His name shall be called Jesus," which is a Saviour, "for he shall save his people from their sins." The apostles of Christ also, according to their holy commission, declared, that "God hath sent his Son to bless us, in turning us from the evil of our ways." But that doctrine must certainly be opposite to this of the angels of Christ and of his disciples, which teacheth that we must live in sin while on this side the grave, and that there is no being free from it while we are in the world; though Christ himself came for that very

purpose, to put an end to it, to save us from it, and to bring into the world everlasting righteousness; as is that doctrine which maintains that no perfection can be attained to in this life; though Christ says, "Be ye perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect;" as he is perfect in fulness, so are we to be perfect, according to the measure of grace received. This faith and belief are much wanting in this unbelieving generation, which is the reason that people remain in their sins, and their leaders cause them to err, and their ministers minister in their sin, and minister sin to the people. Oh! that the great Lord of all may grant the faith which purifies the heart, unto the children of men, and especially to his ministers, that they might be instrumental to convince and convert souls to Christ, and his "Gospel, which is the power of God to salvation to all them that believe." And as without believing and being baptized we can neither be saved nor truly preach the gospel, how do we believe in Christ if we remain in our sins? For Christ saith, "If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." So it is plain, that the true faith and belief in Christ taketh away our sins, and that if we remain in our sins, we have not the true faith of Christ.

It is not enough to have a notional or historical faith or belief that Christ is the Son of God, but we must also believe, as the angel declared, "This is he that shall save his people from their sins." This was before he was born of the holy Virgin; and

those people mightily mistake the doctrine of Christ in the holy Scriptures, who think or believe they shall be saved in their sins; and those ministers must needs be antichristian, who preach and write that there can be no living in this world without sin, which is also contrary to their own doctrine at other times, and to their solemn covenant in water baptism, or sprinkling, in which they promise for their children, "To forsake the devil and all his works;" and no Christian can pretend to greater or higher perfection than to forsake the devil and all his works, "the pomp and vanity of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh, and to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our lives." According to this solemn covenant there is no day for sin; yet those covenanters at other times will say, that the best saints cannot live without sin, and that people sin in their best duties. If any think to mock the Almighty after that manner, they will be much mistaken in the day of the righteous judgment of God: for "Christ came to put an end to sin, and to finish transgression, and to destroy the works of the devil," which all sin most certainly is. It is plain, that John, the beloved disciple of Christ, believed this, from his own words: "I write unto you, young men, because ye have overcome the wicked one. I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one."

To the church of Ephesus he writes: "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches: To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." To the church of Smyrna: "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches: he that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death." To the church of Pergamos, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches: To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in it a new name written, which no man knoweth, save him that receiveth it." To the church of Thyatira: "He that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father. And I will give him the morning star. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." To the church of Sardis: "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life; but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels." To the church of Philadelphia: "He that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down

out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name." To the church of Laodicea: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne."

Surely that soul who cannot by all this see that there is an overcoming, must certainly be blind as to a spiritual sight of the doctrine of Christ; and what is it but to make Christ and the holy Spirit a deceiver, to promise all those great things to his churches, if they cannot perform the condition he prescribes. If it were true, as it is not, that it is impossible to overcome sin and Satan, then would Christ be a hard master, which is absurd and wicked to suggest. But this overcoming cannot be in our own wills, nor in our own time, nor with our own weapons, but according to the apostle Paul's testimony of the saints' weapons and their warfare, and also of his own fight and victory, viz.: "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds." Satan's holds of sin are strong ones, if never to be overcome.

With these weapons we may overcome: and he bids the Christian put them on, and calls them the whole armor of light; opposite and contrary to Satan's dark power, and he names them after this manner: "Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, where-



with ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked: and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness; which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give to me at that day, and not to me only, but to all them who love his appearing."

Thus the saints and primitive Christians were victorious in this Christian and spiritual warfare, and they encouraged others to follow them, as they did Christ. The very belief of this doctrine, that we can never overcome sin and Satan, is contrary to the faith of Christ, and is a mighty engine of the wicked one to destroy souls. For what encouragement have any to the work of reformation, or to believe in, or press after the new birth, if they do not believe in the new birth, or that they can be created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works, and that they must not walk after the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof. Oh! that ministers and people would consider that awful sentence of holy Scripture, "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." The want of a lively hope and faith in Christ, the Lord of heaven and earth, is great indeed. Oh! that true faith in him might increase in the earth more and more! Then would he inspire the soul with inward strength and grace to resist the devil, and overcome

him, and actually to do the works of God, and to forsake the devil and all his works; then, and not until then, is Christ's righteousness imputed to us; so that true Christians are truly righteous, not only by imputation, but by action also. Oh! that those who make profession of the name of the holy Jesus, would deny themselves, and take up their daily cross, and follow him in the regeneration! otherwise, how can they be his disciples or ministers? And then would true Christianity flourish in the earth; then would Christ be exalted over all, who, with the Father and holy Spirit, is God blessed forever.

To return a little to Christ's baptism, viz.: "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved." Here our great baptizer and chief minister is positive that they shall be saved who are baptized with his baptism; from which, with strong reason, we may conclude, that the baptism which is absolutely necessary to salvation, is not water baptism, which was John's, but spiritual baptism, which is Christ's; and for this reason also, that most Christians who have any spiritual understanding, do plainly see, that notwithstanding people are baptized, or sprinkled with elementary water, many live wicked, ungodly lives, and die in that state. But quite the contrary effect hath that baptism which is of the Holy Ghost and spiritual fire, which is Christ's baptism; for that where it is witnessed, and where people not only talk of it, but live according to its holy operation on the soul, saves and cleanses from sin and evil, and washes by regeneration, and renews the soul by grace, with divine life and power.

The call of a true minister is from and by Christ; he must come to the school of Christ, and take his degrees there; in the universal love of God he must learn and experience patience, humility, faith, hope, and charity; "Learn of me," saith he, "for I am meek and lowly in heart." Notwithstanding he was the heir of all things, and all power in heaven and earth was given unto him, he humbled himself to the death of the cross, for the sake of mankind; and as the living Father sent his Son, so the Son sends his servants contrary to the will of man, as the apostle Paul said: "But I certify unto you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me, is not after man; for I neither received it of man, nor was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Hereby it is plain he thought there was no absolute necessity of outward learning, or outward call by man.

And as there is no absolute necessity of outward learning to make a minister of Christ, so there is no need to force an outward maintenance; for Christ will take care of his servants, and feed and clothe them, when he sends them, as he did his disciples, who went forth without staff or scrip, yet acknowledged, after their return, that they lacked nothing. As Christ said, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" so there is no outward compulsion or force in Christ's doctrine or religion. Some are indeed of another opinion, and have practised the contrary, and bring those words of Christ to uphold them in the practice of forcing religion, where he says, in the parable of

the marriage supper, "Go, compel them to come in;" which was no other compulsion or force but that of love, which is the greatest power in heaven or earth: to construe our Saviour's words in any other sense, would be absurd, and contrary to the whole tenor and doctrine of his holy ministry.

Thus then the work of Christ's ministers is to bring the people to Christ, as he is their Redeemer and Saviour from sin, and as he is their comforter and good remembrancer, and their spiritual guide into all truth, in the performance of which work they will have their reward in this world, and in the world to come, everlasting life. Amen.

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*Concerning Personal Election and Reprobation.*

A CONCERN came upon me, in Christian love to the honest-hearted of the Presbyterian way, to show them how their teachers have misled them, and misrepresented the words of God, in pretending to prove the doctrine they hold of personal election and reprobation, and in wresting the Scriptures in support of it.

Some of the texts of Scripture whereby they vainly endeavor to defend it, whereupon they chiefly found their tenet, are these, viz.:

Concerning Jacob and Esau, and the Lord's hardening Pharaoh's heart. "He that made them, will not have mercy upon them, and he that formed them, will show them no favor." "Hath not the potter power over

the clay of the same lump, to make one vessel to honor and another to dishonor?" "Therefore he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth."

Relating to Jacob and Esau, the case was thus: the Almighty showed Rebecca, the mother of them both, while the children were yet unborn, that the elder should serve the younger. Not that the elder should be damned to eternity, and the younger only saved, as it is hoped will appear clear in the sequel, and the contrary be plainly proved, both by Scripture and right reason. Jacob and Esau were the sons of godly Isaac, to whom, with faithful Abraham, was the promise of God, and to their seed, and both Jacob and Esau were blessed in the name of God, and in his faith also: "For," saith the author of the Hebrews, "Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau by faith." This he wrote when he was illustrating the power of faith, by many wonderful works which had been done thereby; and doubtless the faith there spoken of is the true faith; and whatever is foretold through true faith will most certainly be fulfilled, as this significant blessing of Isaac to his sons was. The good old man calls his eldest son to him, being disposed to bless him, and bids him seek venison, and make him savory meat, such as he knew his father loved, "that my soul may bless thee before I die;" and Rebecca, their mother, knowing, from what God had shown her before they were born, that the elder should serve the younger, for whom she had the greatest love, she calls Jacob and opens the matter

to him, and bids him get savory meat for his father, which, through her importunity, he did. After he had prepared it, he brought it to his father before his brother came, and his father blessed him in faith, but he did it against his natural inclination; for he would have had his son Esau to have had the blessing of preference, because he was the eldest son, and by nature it was his birth-right; but he, in his profane state and condition, had despised it and sold it to his brother Jacob for a thing of little value; so that Jacob, having, by his brother's consent, bought it of him, had a right to it on a double account, both by the promise of God before he was born, and by purchase from his brother. But let it be observed, this was the blessing of preference only, that blessing which Esau sought with tears, but could not find; nevertheless he had a blessing pronounced upon him by his father, through faith, though he does not seem to have had a right sense thereof, for he was at times in a profane spirit, and in enmity and malice against his brother Jacob, as appears by that murdering, persecuting mind, that then was unmortified in him; "For," says he, "the days of mourning for my father are at hand, and then I will slay my brother Jacob." But as his wickedness was great, his conversion must be so much the more glorious. It would be well if all murdering persecutors would, in his conversion, take him for an example; for instead of killing his brother, when he met him on his return to his father's house, from whence he had fled, he fell on his neck and kissed him, and wept.

It is hoped that no Christian will be offended to hear of the conversion and great change of this profane person, who, though he was not favored with the blessing of preference, or the natural blessing of birth-right, which he sought with tears, and could not find, yet the blessing of God's grace and favor, being the free gift of the Almighty to him, with the fatness of the earth, he had, and it was delivered to him by his father by faith, as saith the apostle, in the afore-cited epistle to the Hebrews, which blessing was by their father Isaac thus expressed to each of them. First, to Jacob, "That the purpose of God according to election might stand;" which choice or election, before they were born, or had done good or evil, was, "that the elder should serve the younger," or the younger be preferred before the elder; not that one should be damned, and the other saved; there is no damnation to eternity, that we read of concerning Esau, but a choice blessing of God, of a quite different nature. Unto Jacob he said thus: "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee," etc. And unto Esau he says, "Behold thy dwelling shall be of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above, and by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck."

These blessings have not only respect to their own

proper persons, but also to their posterity; but are far from pre-ordaining them, or any of them, to damnation; and we have good ground from what is above, together with the reformation wrought in Esau himself, to believe much better things of him; for it is written, "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness which he hath committed, and doth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. So when a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and dieth in it, for his iniquity which he hath done shall he die."

Having thus far taken notice of the purport of the blessings of Jacob and Esau, relating to their persons, who were both blessed with the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth, I would add this remark, "Let none curse him or them whom God hath blessed."

And whereas the apostle, reciting the words of the prophet Malachi, saith, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated;" this was not said of them before they were born, or had done either good or evil; but was justly denounced by the Almighty for the cruelty and hatred of the children of Esau to the children of Israel, as is fully and clearly expressed by the prophets David, Ezekiel, Amos, and Obadiah; and was written many ages after.

Second; The next text under consideration is, "That the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh." But it should be observed, he had first hardened himself against God and his people, and then God hardened



him yet harder, in order to show his great power to mortals, which well consisted with his justice to the wicked and unmerciful; for as God is merciful to the righteous, so is he just in his judgment to the ungodly.

So that God was clear of that evil heart of unbelief in him, and it is but just, and also reasonable, that when man, having been often visited, refuseth the offers of God's love, he should visit such with his righteous judgment, who have slighted his mercy and grace. And then, according to the holy Scripture, "His destruction is of himself, but his help is in the Lord." So that "God is true, and every man contradicting him is a liar."

Wherefore may all have a care of hardening their hearts as Pharaoh did, for that is provoking the Almighty, and then he justly gives them over to an evil heart of unbelief, and to a reprobate mind, in departing from the living God. The Lord saith unto Pharaoh, "Let my people go," over and over, and it was the mind of God he should have done it: without those men who hold the contrary, would make the Almighty such an one as themselves, to say one thing, and mean another. What is that but to charge the Almighty with hypocrisy? a thing hated of him, and his dear Son, Christ Jesus. Pharaoh might have obeyed the Lord in a day of visitation: but he refused, and said, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go." And he continued to harden

himself against God and his people, cruelly persecuting them, and forcing them to make bricks without straw, before we read that the Lord hardened his heart. Oh! that all hard-hearted, persecuting, unbelieving people, might take warning by him, before it be too late.

It is clear, he might have let the people go; because God by Moses commanded him so to do. And who can deny, that what God did, was more proper to soften than to harden his heart, by letting him see the miracles wrought in his name, and the ceasing of the plagues he had inflicted. It was possible for him to do what God required of him; he was not predestinated to that obduration, but he hardened his own heart; and then it was, is, and always will be, just with God to suffer his, or any other man's heart to become hardened, and give them up to a reprobate mind.

Third; The following Scripture is wrested, and falsely made use of, viz., "He that made them, will not have mercy on them; and he that formed them, will show them no favor." This text hath, in some of the writings of those that espouse the aforesaid doctrine, been brought to vindicate that despairing, destructive, evil principle, of the pre-ordination of particular persons to destruction and damnation: but this text, with the rest brought for that end, is grossly perverted; for in the same place the case is fairly stated, and the reason clearly shown, why God will show them no favor, viz., "Because they were with-

ered branches, and people of no understanding ; therefore he that made them, would not have mercy upon them, and he that formed them, would show them no favor." From whence it appears they might have been fruitful, but would not, and had been green, but were withered from their greenness ; much like those whom Christ expostulates with, when he says, "How often would I have gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." "If thou hadst known, in this thy day, the things which belong to thy peace, but now they are hid from thine eyes." Which shows the great and fervent desire of Christ to save souls, and his tender love to poor mortals, and that they had a day of visitation, in which they might have been gathered, which is far from ordaining them to destruction from all eternity.

God is fully clear of all men, and their blood is on their own heads, and their destruction is of themselves ; whereas they might have help in the Lord and his Christ, through faith, which he offers to man freely ; but man will not receive or embrace it. And further, it should be observed, that if the whole texts of the prophecy of Isaiah in his thirty-seventh chapter be considered, it will plainly appear, that he is so far from uttering an express or positive decree of their final destruction, that he clearly and fully foretells their recovery and restoration out of that state.

Fourth ; They argue from the words of the apostle, "Hath not the potter power over the clay, to make of the same lump one vessel to honor, and another to

dishonor?" Yes, doubtless he hath; but the potter doth not make vessels with design to destroy them, or to break them to pieces, but for use and service; and it is contrary to his will and interest, when a vessel is marred under his hand. And it is very plainly expressed by the prophet Jeremiah, after mentioning his beholding the work of the potter, "Oh, house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the Lord. Behold as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, oh, house of Israel! At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them." All which is contrary to the doctrine of an absolute and unconditional predestination. The Lord in his wisdom, and to show his power, doth make souls more or less honorable, as he pleaseth; but it is very plain, from Scripture and right reason, that he makes none with a design to destroy them, nor hath he ordained any to eternal damnation. Though he hath ordained damnation for wicked and ungodly men, yet he never ordained that men should be wicked and ungodly.

Fifth; They urge the apostle's words, but to as little purpose as the former, "He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth." It is true, that God hath abundantly shown us, in the holy Scriptures, on whom he will have mercy, viz., He hath mercy on the poor in spirit; the

humble he teaches of his ways ; the meek he guides in judgment ; he clothes the meek with salvation ; he hath the righteous in everlasting remembrance ; he loveth them who love him ; he saveth them who love his dear Son, and believe in him ; he giveth to them eternal life, and Christ loveth them, and manifesteth himself unto them. And his beloved disciple John declared, " If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous ; and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." And the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, saith, " But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honor, that he, by the grace of God, should taste death for every man." And all who believe in, and obey him, will partake of the benefit of his death and suffering ; " But the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands."

It has been in my mind for some years, to show the weakness of some of what are called the proofs, for this, as I take it, corrupt and dangerous doctrine, and the misapplication of those texts of Scripture, which are advanced to maintain this absurd notion, of souls being fore-ordained to damnation eternally, whether they do good or evil, and that it is so determined before we are born into the world. Oh ! that people might come to true repentance, and lay hold of the universal love of God to eternal life, through the living faith of Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose

tender love to all, are these lines written, and in great good-will they are invited to search the Scriptures, and to see whether the whole scope of them do not show the contrary to what they hold in relation to personal reprobation to destruction, fore-ordained before we are born, or have done either good or evil; there not being one text to be found to prove that doctrine. But there are abundance which set forth the love, mercy, and goodness of God to mankind; only two of which I shall add hereunto, viz., "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart." "And Jonah arose, and went unto Nineveh, according to the word of the Lord, and entered and said, Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown. So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them. And God saw their works, that they returned from their evil way, and God repented of the evil that he had said he would do unto them, and he did it not." I heartily desire that these two texts may be duly considered and weighed; therein the mercy, loving-kindness, and long forbearance of God, being so clearly and fully manifested, that I think it may be sufficient to convince every unprejudiced mind of the error of believing the absolute predestination by the Almighty, of any part of mankind to destruction.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

*A Letter to Cotton Mather, in New England.\**

FRANKFORD, 20th of Third month, 1726.

COURTEOUS FRIEND, C. M., —

Thine, dated November 30th, 1725, I received a few days ago, having been visiting the people along the sea-shore in the Jerseys, in the love of Christ, hoping to bring some to him, among whom, in a general way, the gospel which I had to preach in his name, found acceptance, for which I was truly thankful. And though I had no earthly consideration for so doing, yet I had an inward satisfaction, that I thought I would not exchange or part with for the bishop of Rome or Canterbury's revenue: and at my return I received thy friendly letter, of which I was glad, and that mine to thee found that acceptance, so as to answer my request.

And whereas thou sayest thy aim and hope have been to persuade us who call ourselves Friends, we professing ourselves friends to all people, that our superior stress should be upon the grand point of Christ inward; we having found, by living and blessed experience, the great benefit and comfort of his sweet

\* Having received a courteous letter from Cotton Mather, one of the greatest preachers among the people of New England; he being in community with the national church there, and having preached a sermon concerning the power and excellence of Christ within, recommending the people thereunto, and commending our Society therein; but differing from us in some particulars, which particulars I was concerned to answer.

and glorious presence, by the manifestation of his power, spirit, and grace, in and to our souls, we cannot do otherwise than lay the greatest stress thereon, our benefit thereby being not easily expressed, so as to be understood by the carnal mind, or those who are in a state of degeneration. Christ within was, is, and ever will be the hope of the sanctified soul's glory, though a mystery hid from ages of the unregenerate people, or from those who are in the reprobation; "Know ye not your ownelves that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates," as saith the apostle Paul.

From the above I would not be understood as though I believed Christ is nowhere but in the people; neither did I ever understand any of our Friends so, though we have been often misrepresented on that head.

And as to the ceremony of the hat, and the plural language to single persons, I thus answer thee, that many of us left that way of salutation and speaking through strong conviction, accompanied with these reasons:

First; It being a respect we pay to Almighty God, he being our head, is honored by uncovering our heads, as saith the apostle Paul; we think, for that reason, it is not right to uncover our heads to men, but that to give one another our hands, in an inward and hearty respect, is better.

Second; We read in the holy Scriptures, that Mordecai could not bow to Haman for conscience'



sake, and I think it may be safely concluded, that he did not take off his hat, or uncover his head, though he was in danger of suffering for it. And,

Third; The three children of God walked in the presence of the great king of Babylon, and those present with him, with their hats on; and they stood the king's fury and the fire, though seven times hotter than usual, with their hats on.

I beseech thee, my good friend, to consider the tenor of the holy Scriptures maturely, and then I hope thou wilt not think the hat, and the language of *thee* and *thou* to a single person, to be needless ceremonies and encumbrances, according to our principle and practice. I do not write thus to thee for contention, nor in a contentious spirit, but in the innocent love of our dear Lord Jesus, and for edification, or, if need be, for information.

Also, as to *thee* and *thou* to a single person, I answer, that the holy Scriptures, or the words of God therein recorded, are by Protestant professors of Christ acknowledged a rule to us all, next to the holy Spirit, from whence they came, or the Holy Ghost, who our Saviour promised, "shall lead into all truth, and abide with the true believers forever;" and that God and Christ's spirit doth not contradict the holy Scriptures, which have proceeded from thence: this general proposition we all agree to if we rightly understand one another. Then, according to this rule, our plain language is right, otherwise I should be obliged to thee to show us wherein we

err from that good rule. Now, the Most High thought good to teach and use that language in the beginning to our first parents, so that is our mother tongue, and is the language of the Bible, or holy Scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations. I suppose I need not tell thee, that *you* to a single person had its rise from pride and flattery; and thyself knoweth, that *you* to a single person is neither good English nor good grammar. And if I am rightly informed, your forefathers, as well as ours, made use of this plain Scripture language of *thee* and *thou* to a single person, in their first separation from the common sinners of their times.

Though I thus apologize for the plain Scripture language, yet in respect of faith or grace, and principles to be believed, which are absolutely necessary to salvation, I call these but small things, but we are not to despise the day of small things. If we are faithful in the little, we have the promise of more, or greater things.

I pray thee excuse this long letter; for it seems meet that we should render a reason for our disuse of those things used by some of most societies professing the Christian faith.

In respect of water baptism, and the bread and wine. First; As to water baptism, I have this to answer, the which I hope thou wilt charitably construe.

The first account that we have of it is from John the Baptist, who first practised it, according to the

account the evangelists give concerning it, and he said, "I indeed baptize you with water, but he," Christ, "shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire;" plainly distinguishing between the two baptisms, and the two natures of them; adding, "He must increase, but I must decrease;" he spoke not of their persons, but of their dispensations.

William Dell, a learned man in his day, wrote an excellent piece on the subject of baptism, which he pleased to peruse: it is very evangelical, and well worth reading. I shall take care to procure thee one of his books. I am the more concerned about this subject, because thou art positive about our coming to it, if we improve in wisdom: but I would hope to be, in some measure, instrumental to convince thee, that there is no absolute need, in order to salvation, to go into or unto the water or element; but that it is absolutely necessary for us to go unto and into Christ, that being the way to be new creatures, as it is written, "He that is in Christ is a new creature."

Our dear Lord says on this subject, "John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." Here our Saviour, as well as John, distinguished between the two dispensations. John's was indeed a glorious dispensation in its time; but Christ's far exceedeth it in glory, and is to endure forever.

The apostle Peter remembered this doctrine of Christ's when the holy Spirit's baptism was come; "Then," says he, "I remembered the word of the

Lord, John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, says, "He was not sent to baptize, but to preach the gospel;" which, when truly preached, hath a spiritual baptizing power attending it; and if we come rightly to be baptized with the holy Spirit and fire of the divine word, we shall witness a renovation, and the work of reformation and regeneration will go forward more and more, both without and within, in body and spirit, for which every true Christian and minister of Christ longs and prays with fervent desires. The apostle says, and pray be pleased to judge for what reason, "That the kingdom of heaven is not meat nor drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Oh! may the Most High inspire thy soul when thou readest these lines, is my tender desire.

I know I am writing to one who in many things is far before me; so that I write in fear, mixed with Christian love; and if it meet with the same love in thee, that will cover a multitude of faults.

As to the supper or ceremony of bread and wine, which is called the sacrament, which word we find not in the Bible, we do not understand that our Lord laid it as an injunction on his followers to observe this practice to perpetuity; or that the observation thereof is absolutely necessary to salvation, or that his church should be in the practice of the elements of either water to dip in, or sprinkle with, or bread and wine to eat and drink, as a lasting ordinance to be observed by believers.

Christ said, "This do ye, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me;" which to me seems to leave it indifferent: also from the debates and contentions of Christians about it, and the blood that hath been spilt in this controversy, and the many doubts arising concerning it, I think it is evident that Christ was not positive that his followers should be found to perpetuity therein; and where he says, "Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you, or for many; and drink, this is my blood which is shed for many;" I believe it is not to be doubted but that he pointed at his flesh and blood rather than the bread and wine, as in a figure, and that also he had an eye to his spiritual flesh and blood or body, as where he says, "Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you;" the which every true Christian should daily feed upon, and without which we have no divine life in us; and as himself also said, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

It is worthy of note, that much of his holy words and heavenly doctrine was to be understood spiritually; "My words," says he, "are spirit and life." A glorious speech to such as truly witness and understand it, which is much better felt by a true believing Christian than expressed. Oh! may we so open our hearts to our beloved Jesus, that he may come in unto us, and that we may sup with him and he with us, and that he may not only sup with us, but take up his abode with us, and we with him, forever;

and not only in us twain, but in all those who truly love, believe in, and follow him, throughout the world; so wisheth and prayeth, in sincerity, thy real friend,

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

P. S. I hope thou wilt excuse this long letter, thy "Vital Christianity" being instrumental towards our corresponding together by way of epistle, at which, if it proves any way to thy satisfaction, I shall rejoice. In reading several of thy latter tracts, I have had love in my heart towards thee, which was yet more renewed in perusing thy "Vital Christianity," and thy friendly letter to me.

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*Free Thoughts Communicated to Freethinkers, in order to Promote Thinking on the Name and Works of God; with a Relation of a Remarkable Providence, which fell out at Port Royal, in Jamaica.*

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TO THE READER.

The author having been much pressed in spirit to write the following considerations, begs they may be read with attention, and examined without prejudice. He hopes the learned and ingenuous reader will excuse any faults in style or method, having respect to the sincerity of intention which he professes to have had in this undertaking; and humbly prays that a

divine blessing may attend it, to the satisfaction and eternal advantage of all whom it may concern.

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HAVING had some discourse with a young man of bright natural parts, concerning another world, and of leaping out of this into that in the dark, which must needs be very dangerous; and fearing that many take that great leap in that manner, I have been induced to write these lines.

Upon which I cannot forbear asking, what man in his senses will venture to leap in the dark, he knows not where? or into a pit of which he knows not the bottom? To think of it is terrifying, and must needs shock any considerate thinker

Though a man, having a bright genius, and a large share of natural parts, may acquire much literal and natural knowledge; yet, for want of a spiritual understanding, which is derived from the divine Spirit, he may greatly err concerning true faith and religion, and have no just apprehension of the eternal kingdom and judgment of God, or of another world; which it might be well for the ungodly, were never to be at all: though even if this were to be supposed, yet to live virtuously, as the Bishop of Sarum observed to that great libertine, Lord Rochester, would be an advantage to men, even in this world.

But if there should be an eternal righteous kingdom, of which we may internally and spiritually be sensible, and a state of life therein to come, then, oh, then! what will become of the wicked, and all who

forget God! and what perturbation of soul must attend such, when, under the convictions thereof, they shall be ready to launch into eternity. I beseech thee, oh, soul! seriously to consider, before it be too late.

The great Saviour of the world says, "The kingdom of God is within you." That is, inwardly and spiritually, to be known and perceived. He also says, "I am the light of the world." He, by this divine and supernatural light, lights us through this dark world to his spiritual and glorious kingdom, where he rules and reigns in transcendent majesty and brightness; of which his faithful subjects are in some measure sensible; glory to the King of kings forever.

And that eminently wise apostle, Paul, says, "He was sent to turn men from darkness to light." Darkness he calls the power of Satan, and light the power of God. Now as a man walking in outward darkness is in continual danger of falling, not knowing whither he goeth, so also a man living and walking in spiritual darkness, which is the power of Satan, where the wonderful power and works of God cannot be seen or understood, must needs be in the greatest danger of falling into the bottomless pit of perdition, where horrible darkness and unutterable misery prevail forever.

The many bitter cries, dreadful shrieks, and heavy groans which my ears have heard from such dark souls, ready to depart the body, have been enough to convince me of the judgment of another world, though there had been no other demonstration of it



to me. May our fine wits and sprightly youths repent in time. Oh! my heart is pained for them; and my soul mourns in secret for many of my former and latter acquaintance, and I have also tender desires for the well-doing and well-being of mankind in general.

If any, by duly thinking of these things, should be awakened and convinced of their state, and their former lives and wicked practices, and have so much light as to see the danger of living without God in the world; but be ready to conclude, that if there be indeed a righteous God, who will reward every man according to his works, there can then be no hope for them, they are such wretched sinners. Oh! if this be the case of any, look not at such thoughts, which, in the midst of your just apprehensions, Satan, taking advantage, may thus suggest to you; who having got you deep already in the mire of sin, would by such infusions plunge you deeper both into sin and despair.

Be it remembered that Christ died for sinners, even the chief, as Paul says, and he can make a chief saint of a chief sinner, as appears in the case of that apostle, by his own testimony. God hath done and can do it, though it be wonderful!

Wherefore abide not in darkness, but repent and turn to the light of life! strive and struggle for life, the life of God in the soul of man! turn ye to the divine light; turn to God who is light, and in him is no darkness at all; live and walk in the light of God, which is far above the light of human reason; therein shall we have fellowship with the Father of lights,

and his Son Jesus Christ; whose religion is spiritual: "God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth."

God must be worshipped in thought, word, and deed; that is, in all things we ought to express an humble reverence and adoration to the Sovereign Being, frequently meditating on his great name. But all evil and sinful thinking we must refrain from with abhorrence, as displeasing to him, being of the devil, that wicked spirit; and indeed it is contrary to the nature and end of free-thinking; which is a sincere exercise of the rational faculty, in order to distinguish between good and evil, truth and falsehood, that we may choose and acknowledge the one, and avoid and reject the other. And here it may not be unfit to recommend the care of all our thoughts, from whence proceed our words and actions, as naturally as good and evil fruit from the different seeds sown in the earth.

And as the truest and most sublime end of thinking, which is the reasonable service of every intelligent being, is the contemplation, fear, and adoration of the Almighty Creator, so are we thereto greatly encouraged by that Scripture of Malachi, which I am concerned here to transcribe and recommend, viz.: "Then they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name. And they shall be mine, saith the Lord

of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels, and I will spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him. Then shall ye return and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not."

In which Scripture we may observe how great and glorious a reward is promised to those who sanctify the name of the Lord; the consideration of which must needs raise their love and admiration, and add to their present delight in such holy thoughts.

But, on the contrary, it is to be feared, that evil thinkers and actors, when the divine Spirit and light would inspire them with good thoughts, or convince them of their sins, endeavor to stifle or overcome such thoughts or motions as would awaken them to righteousness, or restrain them from sin; and strive by their natural wit to reason the good Spirit out of their souls; at the same time opening their hearts to the evil spirit and his suggestions, which they hug to their own destruction. But to judge rightly of these things, if a man have ever so much natural wit and strength of reason, it must be sanctified through his faithful subjection to the divine will, and raised by divine inspiration; which as far surpasses human reason as heaven is above the earth. May our men of bright natural thought think clearly and seriously of this. This is evident in the case of the great apostle Paul, who was educated at the feet of Gamaliel, in the perfect manner of the law, yet, by all his knowledge could not justly distinguish concerning religion, but

was a persecutor of the church of Christ. But when his knowledge and spirit came to be sanctified by the grace and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, then, and not till then, he became of great and good use to his Maker and mankind. Then his reason and religion became spiritual, "who had not conferred with flesh and blood, but had been obedient to the heavenly vision." And he says, "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable." His hope and expectation, as well as of all faithful believers, must have been of another life, and the kingdom of God hereafter: "For here," says he, "we have no continuing city, but seek one to come." And though the condition of such, in this life, be often exposed to much persecution and trouble for their faith's sake, towards the name of God and testimony against this world and the evil spirit ruling therein; yet, blessed be the Most High, he gives them strength and the assurance of his favor, whereby they endure to the end, as well as that he refreshes them with his outward blessings and comforts; so that they may well say, with his ancient servant Job, "Shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and not evil?" Thus afflictions have been indeed usually called, but they often, in the hand of God, are means of redeeming the soul, and raising up many excellent virtues, when they are rightly submitted to.

\* I would inquire what subject we can possibly choose so worthy of our meditation, or from whence so great a benefit can redound both to spirit and body? The

fear and thoughts of Almighty God, which are inspired by his grace sanctifying our hearts, thereby render us more fit to receive his favors both to spirit and body, which he multiplies according to his wisdom and good pleasure; and all our faculties and passions being redeemed and governed by the spirit of faith, we shall possess and enjoy all things in a more regular and excellent manner. But who is there that hath not been so great a partaker of the many blessings, with which the infinite Creator filleth the world, and in an especial manner encompasseth mankind, as not to be obliged to a continual acknowledgment thereof, and remembrance of the great and bountiful Author? The state therefore of the wicked and rebellious is stigmatized in holy Scripture with this character, in particular, that "God is not in all their thoughts." And indeed for this came his judgment upon the old world of the ungodly, who cannot be supposed ever to have thought of the adorable Lord, since every imagination and thought of their hearts was only evil continually, as the Almighty himself hath complained.

But instead of the returns of faith and love, how sad a consideration is it, that there should among men be found any so vile and foolish as even to deny the divine existence, and the effects of his infinite power in the external creation, and to affirm that all things have come by nature, without God, or any supernatural power; which evil tenet some have endeavored to justify and support by natural reason; "Wherein the name thereof may indeed be abused;

but reason itself, which concludes nothing without evidence, can never declare in favor of a proposition for which not only none can appear, but against which the whole world is full of it. But let this be disposed for the judgment of reason. When therefore it is said, that all things have come by nature; if thereby we are to understand that natural things are severally self-productive, this will be disproved by daily experience; for we may observe, that they depend one upon another, and upon various causes for production and subsistence, without which neither, in a state of nature, could possibly be. But if it be meant of the universal system of natural things collectively, this will less be allowed of many, than of any particular of them; because that would destroy the nature of a self-productive power, which cannot be limited from being infinite, and therefore can be but one: one infinite supreme nature, therefore, only can have self-existed, and must have been the supernatural author and power, by whom all other beings have existed: which refutes the above error, and rationally proves and establishes the great truth in the question."

And this the Christian religion teaches in the greatest perfection, that the Creator of all things is God, an infinite eternal Spirit, who filleth all things; who having been pleased to manifest his eternal power and godhead in the visible frame of the universe, beareth witness of himself therein, by his providence and judgments; and in every soul of man by his

inward inspirations; especially the sincere believer in whom his spirit dwells and operates.

Oh! that men therefore would lift up their minds and open their hearts to him, when by his holy Spirit he reproves them for sin, and brings a damp upon their spirits for evil; from which they would, perhaps, if they could, run, or divert themselves from the sense of it. But, alas! there is no fleeing from his presence, who is everywhere; nor avoiding his judgment, whose kingdom comprehends all things: but woe is especially to them with whom his spirit ceases striving. Holy David certainly was very sensible of this, when he wrote that admirable description of the Divine Omnipresence, "Whither shall I go from thy spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up to heaven, thou art there: If I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. If I say, surely the darkness shall cover me, even the night shall be light about me, yea, the darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day: the darkness and the light are both alike to thee." With these views of the infinite power and presence of the Almighty, I shall pass to the relation promised, which may here be properly inserted.

My author was Jonathan Dickenson, merchant in Philadelphia, who was present with the young men whom this extraordinary providence befell, at Port

Royal, in Jamaica: he gave me the following account. Two ingenious young men, who were lately arrived at Jamaica, from London, discoursing about earthquakes, asserted that all things came by nature: and so argued thereupon, that it brought terror upon the company, who were many, at dinner in an upper room. Whilst this lasted, to the great astonishment of all present, the earth began to move and tremble, which put most of them to flight in such haste, that they ran one almost over another, some down stairs, others leaping over the balcony. But my author said he considered there was no running from Divine Providence, and that the same hand which moved the earth, was able to preserve him; in which he trusted, and was preserved. As he continued with the young men in the same room,—oh! terrible to relate, and my heart and hand tremble in the writing thereof,—the mighty hand of an offended God struck these young men with death, and they fell down, and never rose any more, being in all appearance unprepared for so sudden a change. And how many other gay, witty young people have been suddenly snatched away by death, though perhaps not so immediately, nor in so extraordinary a manner, seems worthy of reflection. The author of this account added, that he took up the young men, and laid one of them upon a bed, and the other upon a couch; but that they never spoke again after their blasphemy against God and his works. Upon which I think it very natural, as well as necessary to remark, that this was indeed an eminent in-



stance of the just judgment of God against such as deny his wonderful power and providence in the creation; with this terrible circumstance, that these unhappy persons were cut off in the midst of their ungodly discourse and corrupt reasoning, without so much time afforded them as to ask pardon and crave mercy of a provoked Lord; which is very dreadful to consider. I especially recommend it to the serious reflection of all such as affect the name of free-thinkers, as they are commonly distinguished, that they may no longer, under such a pretence, abuse their understanding with a latitude of profane and evil thinking: who, as they must be sensible that they have not conferred the excellent faculty of reason upon themselves, so they may as certainly conclude that they never received it to exclude His existence, power, and providence out of the world, who gave it them; nor to employ it to their own destruction, by such a perversion thereof, which must inevitably be the consequence, without timely and due repentance; but that they may apply themselves to Him for true wisdom, who is the eternal fountain of it, who would direct all their thoughts aright therein. Then would they find a substantial and enduring happiness and satisfaction, in the honorable thoughts and practice of true religion and virtue; and that all vain and evil thoughts directly tended to the misery and destruction of mankind.

Lastly, if any expression in this short tract should prove successful to promote, in any measure, the con-

templation of the Divine Being, the consideration of man's duty to him, his Almighty Creator, or to convince but one soul of the error of his thoughts and ways, the author will think himself richly rewarded for his endeavors, and reverently ascribe the glory and praise to God, the prime Author and mover of every good thing, who is worthy forever.

## INDEX.

### A.

	Page
ANDREWS, EDWARD, conviction of.....	75
ATKINSON, AARON, sails to America.....	25

### B.

BARBADOES, conversation with Governor of.....	52
BARCLAY, ROBERT, testimony respecting.....	87
BELL, JOHN, accompanies T. C. to Holland.....	90
BERMUDA, loss of the people of, by a hurricane.....	113
BETTERTON, MARTHA, married to T. C.....	46
BEWLEY, MUNGO, met by T. C.....	322
BORDEN, JOSEPH, kind offer of, to Friends.....	320
BOWLES, ABIGAIL, attends Philadelphia Yearly Meeting..	204
BROWN, MARTHA, married to T. C.....	109
BROWN, THOMAS, travels with T. C.....	138

### C.

CATHING, ROBERT, sickness and death of.....	28
CHALKLEY, THOMAS, birth of.....	11
persecution of, when going to school; reproves	
lads for swearing.....	12
conversation of, with some men he had reproved;	
strong convictions of, in childhood.....	13
incident respecting playing cards.....	14
declines playing with his uncle.....	15

	Page
<b>CHALKLEY, THOMAS, extraordinary visitation and deep religious exercise</b> .....	16
trial of, on account of plain language.....	17
pressed on board a man-of-war.....	18
exercise of, on account of neighbors, etc.....	20
commences in the ministry; visits meetings in Essex; addresses Friends of the evening meeting at his father's house.....	21
end of apprenticeship; visits meetings west of London.....	22
accused of being a Jesuit; death of the mother of	23
travels into north of England and Scotland.....	24
concern of, to visit America; sails with three other Friends.....	25
exercises of, on account of the sick on board of ship going to America.....	27
arrival in Maryland in 1698.....	28
travels in Maryland; visit to some Indians; goes into Virginia and Pennsylvania.....	30
visits New Jersey, Long Island, Rhode Island.....	31
persecuting spirit at Boston.....	32
service in Nantucket.....	33
disputes with the Governor.....	34
travels into Pennsylvania and Virginia.....	38
embarks for England.....	39
lands at Plymouth.....	45
attends London Yearly Meeting; marriage of....	46
visit of, to Ireland; concern of, to remove to America; embarks with his family.....	48
near shipwreck on Goodwin Sands.....	49
lands at Patuxent river; removes to Philadelphia; visit to Barbadoes.....	51
conversation of, with the Governor.....	52
embarks for Philadelphia.....	55
arrives at home; visits the southern provinces...	56
preservation of, from the bite of a rattlesnake, and from foundering.....	57

	Page
CHALKLEY, THOMAS, returns home, and sets out for New England.....	58
reply of, to a question put to him as he entered Boston.....	66
return home; visits New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland; controversy with Priest Crawford..	67
goes again into Maryland; opposed by Priest Edwards and a lawyer.....	70
visit of, to some Indians near the Susquehanna...	72
visit of, to Egg Harbor, etc.; calumniated in an almanac; writes "A Small Broom".....	75
refutation by, of the charge that Friends pay their ministers .....	76
concern of, to visit Friends in the West Indies and Europe.....	77
obtains certificates; embarks .....	78
chased by a privateer; arrives in Barbadoes.....	79
visits several islands.....	80
chased by a privateer; conversation with the sailors.....	81
sails for England .....	82
remarkable preservation from capture; chased by two privateers.....	83
escape to the shore.....	84
visit of, in Ireland; writes an "Exhortation to Youth"; crosses to Scotland.....	85
shameful treatment of, at Glasgow; sharp rebuke of the people by.....	86
parts with Richard Gove; travels up to London..	88
meets his father and brother; is taken sick.....	89
visits several places about London; crosses over to Holland.....	90
meetings held by, in many places in Holland.....	91
passes into East Friesland and Germany.....	92
has a very satisfactory meeting at Hamburg; writes "A Loving Invitation to Young and Old" .....	93

	Page
CHALKLEY, THOMAS, remarks of, respecting the treatment of women in Germany and England .....	94
accident to, on the road ; acknowledgment by, of Divine help to himself and to the interpreter...	95
returns to Amsterdam ; long fast by.....	96
goes again to North Holland ; back to Rotterdam	97
crosses to England .....	98
attends London Yearly Meeting ; travels through- out England .....	99
attends the Yearly Meeting, and sails for home...	100
arrival of, at home.....	102
false reports respecting.....	103
goes down into Maryland with his family ; sick- ness of his wife.....	104
brings his wife back to Philadelphia ; sickness and death of the wife of.....	105
various journeys by ; disputes with a priest.....	106
writes an answer to a plea for tithes ; sails to Charleston.....	107
conversation of, with the Governor ; comes into Virginia.....	108
returns to Philadelphia ; second marriage.....	109
travels into Maryland and New Jersey ; inter- view of, with a young woman confined in prison	110
sails for Bermuda.....	111
returns home ; sails again to Bermuda.....	112
prayer of, apparently answered by the abating of a great storm.....	113
declines drinking the king's health when asked to by the Governor of Bermuda.....	115
sails for home ; threatened with starvation ; offers himself to keep the others from perishing ; wonderful preservation.....	116
arrives at home ; religious services about home ; goes into Maryland.....	117
sails for Barbadoes and England.....	118

	Page
CHALKLEY, THOMAS, writes "A Scruple of Conscience about Form of Prayer," etc.; lands in Barbadoes.....	120
arrives in England, and meets his father and other relations; writes upon Christ's Sermon on the Mount.....	124
sails for home, with several Friends in company; arrives; sails again for Barbadoes and England	125
dangers encountered by, in Delaware river and bay .....	127, 128
from Barbadoes goes to Antigua.....	129
observations of, on the obligation to pursue need- ful business.....	130
some account by, of the voyage to England...131-135	
meets his father and relatives; sails for home.....	135
arrives at home; visits Maryland; narrow escape	137
visits back parts of Pennsylvania; visits Long Island.....	139
death of the tenth child of; remarks of, respect- ing the loss of his children.....	141
moves to Frankford .....	142
observations of, respecting faith and works.....	144
on the duty of forgiveness.....	146
engaged in reconciling a difference at Burlington	147
sickness of; meets with Thomas Lightfoot and Benjamin Kid in New Jersey.....	148
fault found with, by some, for travelling so much from home.....	149
epistle from, to Friends in Barbadoes.....	152
visit to Long Island.....	154
opposed by a priest.....	156
returns home; services about home.....	157
thrown from his horse, and severely hurt.....	158
answer of, to a letter on Baptism .....	159
exhortation by, relative to the warnings given by Divine providence .....	165
severe trials of.....	166

	Page
CHALKLEY, THOMAS, considerations of, respecting his trials	167, 168
exhortation of, that the Holy Spirit be allowed to govern in the Church.....	168, 169
advice from, to youth.....	169
letter to, from his father.....	172
reply from, to his father.....	173
repeated losses, trials and sickness.....	174, 175
letter from, to E. Levis and J. Fenn.....	176
letter from, to one concerned to preach the gospel	180
engages in a family visit.....	186
explains the care of Friends respecting marriage	188
exhorts Friends to plainness; travels in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.....	189, 190
goes again into New Jersey.....	191
exercise of, on account of the youth.....	192
advice from, to a Friend who had separated from Friends in Barbadoes .....	193
exhortation by, to a young man under conviction; confirmation to, of the doctrine of rewards and punishments .....	196
exhortation by, to ministers.....	197
letter from, to the young men under conviction...	198
reply from, to one who queried how it was to be known which Society had the most of the Holy Spirit.....	200
serious accident occurring to .....	202
sets out for Maryland.....	204
ministerial services of, at several meetings.....	205
comes into Pennsylvania.....	206
visit of, to Thomas Lightfoot in his last illness....	207
leaves home for Long Island.....	209
several meetings attended by.....	210, 211
goes into New York.....	212
visits a young woman depressed in mind.....	213
account by, of several meetings held on Long Island and in New York.....	215-220



	Page
CHALKLEY, THOMAS, refutes one who said we should not eat meat.....	217
returns home.....	220
epistle from, to the Quarterly Meeting at Flushing .....	221-225
attends meetings with Abigail Bowles.....	225
advice of, to freethinkers .....	226
discourse by, on Ezekiel's vision of the holy waters	228
attends meetings in New Jersey.....	230
visits Friends about Oley.....	232
advice of, respecting marriage.....	233
letter to, from his brother, giving information of their father's death .....	234
account of his father's conviction, last sickness, and death.....	237-244
testimony of, concerning his father .....	244
resolution of, to love those who defamed him.....	246
concern of, on account of the inhabitants of the Provinces.. ..	247
vivid impression on the mind of, of a Scripture text	248
reasons given by, why Christians should not swear	250
exhorts Friends to cleanse the Society of those who are profane or riotous .....	252
testimony of, respecting John Lee ; thoughts of, on the virtue of temperance.....	254
accompanies William Pigot to several meetings ; vision of, respecting Divine displeasure on account of the sin of the land.....	255
prediction of, fulfilled.....	256
sails for Barbadoes.....	257
remarkable sense given to, of the Lord's displeasure with the people, etc.....	258
checks swearing and quarrelling on board the vessel .....	259
Friends' belief in the Three that bear record in heaven, declared by.....	260

	Page
CHALKLEY, THOMAS, sense of the Lord's support while at sea, experienced by .....	261
arrival at home; convinces P. M. of the sin of taking human life.....	262
letter from, to his children's schoolmaster.....	264
notice by, of the death of George I.....	266
letter from, to his son-in-law .....	267
visits Long Island and Jersey .....	270
consolations of, in his losses.....	271
letter of, to the teacher of his children.....	272
sails for Barbadoes.....	273
return of, home.....	276
sails again for Barbadoes; sets a dislocated shoulder.....	277
return of, home.....	278
testimony of, against vice in Pennsylvania .....	279
serious accident to .....	282
takes command of a ship.....	283
sails for Barbadoes; care of, to prevent swearing and drinking in his ship.....	284
testimony of, against dancing.....	285
returns home.....	287
concern of, respecting the rising generation...287-292	
exhortation by, to the people of Pennsylvania on the arrival of many immigrants.....	292
sails again to Barbadoes.....	293
stormy voyage home .....	295-297
two more voyages to and from Barbadoes.....	298-300
consolation administered to.....	300-302
deliverance from loss by a violent hurricane.....	301
makes another voyage.....	302
narrow escape of, from shipwreck.....	303
remarks of, on friendship.....	306
on the visitations of sickness in Phi- ladelphia.....	308
sixth voyage of, to Barbadoes .....	309

	Page
CHALKLEY, THOMAS, seventh voyage of, to Barbadoes;	
severe accident to, at sea.....	313
stormy passage of.....	314
difficulties encountered by, in bringing his ship	
to Philadelphia.....	315, 316
eighth voyage of, to Barbadoes and back.....	317, 318
visits meetings about home and in New Jersey..	319, 323
sails again for Barbadoes.....	323, 324
reflections of, on his peculiar trials.....	325
apprentice to, lost at sea; another voyage of, to	
Christophers .....	327
instruction administered to, while mourning over	
his afflictions.....	328
conversation of, with Galloway relative to holding	
a meeting at his house .....	329
detention of, at Christophers .....	331
notice by, of the insurrection of the negroes in	
St. John's.....	333
death and character of the only son of.....	334-337
sails for Dublin.....	337
return of, home.....	338
sails for Barbadoes and London.....	339
religious services in the island.....	342-344
shot at by one who was offended by his advice	
respecting kindness to the negroes .....	343
"Free Thoughts for Freethinkers," written by,	
published.....	344
sails for London .....	345
refuses to tell the press officer how many men he	
had aboard.....	347
pays off all his debts.....	349
meets with May Drummond.....	350
meetings attended by, in Great Britain.....	351-356
sails for home .....	357
some services about home.....	358-360
observations by, on the exercise of the discipline	361

	Page
CHALKLEY, THOMAS, notice by, of a meteor.....	363
remarks of, on preparation for death .....	364
visit of, to New York and New England.....	366
conversation of, with Joseph Latham respecting their abuse when boys.....	367
goes to Nantucket.....	368
meetings attended by .....	369-372
observations by, respecting women's preaching...	372
returns home; engages in a family visit in Phila- delphia.....	375
caution given by, to children who have lost their parents, not to do that which they would have disapproved.....	376
sets out on a visit to the South .....	381
travels through Virginia into Carolina and back through Maryland, etc.....	382-385
epistle by, to Opeckon Monthly Meeting.....	386
notice by, of war with Spain .....	389
visit by, to the lower counties .....	390
visit into New Jersey; notice by, of a cold winter	393
remarks by, on the "Mighty Works" of God.....	394
visit of, to one condemned to die.....	396
notice by, of R. Lippincot.....	397
observations by, on the mortality in Philadelphia, and on the obligation to maintain the peaceable principles of the gospel.....	398
proceeds on a religious visit to the Virgin Islands	400
kindly received by the Governor of Tortola.....	401
engaged in visiting some families.....	402-404
notice by, of the care of the Governor to accom- modate the people at meeting .....	404
sickness and death of.....	406, 407
CLAUS, JACOB, acknowledgment by.....	96
CLAUS, JOHN, travels with and interprets for T. C. ....	91
CLOUD, A remarkable, overhangs Barbadoes .....	121
CRAWFORD, PRIEST, opposes T. C. ....	67

# INDEX.

631

	Page
CRAWFORD, PRIEST, false accusation by.....	68
immoral conduct of .....	69
CURIOSITIES, NATURAL, described by T. C. ....	123

## D.

DICKINSON, JONATHAN, remarkable account by .....	140
DISTINCTION between voice of Christ and whispering of Satan .....	20
DOCTOR, dream of the .....	42
death of.....	44
DOE, MARY, account by, of Indians killing her mother, etc..	62-64
DRUMMOND, MAY, notice of.....	350

## E.

EARTHQUAKE at Philadelphia .....	165
EDINBURGH, Friends of, holding meetings in the street .....	24
EDWARDS, PRIEST, opposes T. C. ....	70
ELFRETH, SARAH, death of .....	279
ELLIS, WILLIAM, sails to America with T. C.....	25
EVAN, ROBERT, death and character of.....	380

## F.

FIELDING, JOSHUA, travels of, in America.....	263, 268
met with at Shrewsbury .....	270
FOTHERGILL, JOHN, sails from Philadelphia .....	371
FRIENDS, three, killed by Indians .....	61

## G.

GLAISTER, JOSEPH, travels with T. C. ....	58
GOVE, RICHARD, accompanies T. C.....	38
accompanies T. C. to West Indies and Europe.....	78
in Scotland.....	88

LAWYER, a, opposes T. C. ....	71
LEONARD, GEORGE, Governor of Anguilla, declaration of, respecting Friends.....	80
LIGHTFOOT, THOMAS, travels with T. C.....	135
death of .....	207
LLOYD, ELIZABETH, sails for England with T. C.....	40
LORD, JOHN, testimony concerning, by T. C. ....	269
LUTHER, opinion of, respecting dancing.....	138

# INDEX.

683

Page

## M.

MEETINGS, number of, held in Holland and Germany by T. C.....	97
--	----

## O.

OXLEY, JOHN, visits Long Island with T. C.....	270
--	-----

## P.

PARSON, a, declines playing cards .....	15
PACA, AQUILA, builds a meeting-house in which Friends hold meetings .....	72
PEOPLE, some rude, disturb Friends' meeting; several of them die suddenly .....	249
PHILADELPHIA, mortality in, from small-pox .....	303
earthquake at.....	377
PORTER, WILLIAM, a Friend of great age.....	38
PRESBYTERIANS, some, speak against Friends.....	59
PRESTON, PAUL, dying sayings of .....	319

## R.

RANTERS opposed by T. C. ....	37
RICHARDSON, JOHN, in Philadelphia.....	323
ROBERTS, JOHN, visited by T. C. in his last illness.....	151
RUTLEDGE, JOHN, death of.....	195
RUMNEY, JOHN, kindness of, to T. C. ....	304

## S.

SAILORS, conversation of some, with T. C.....	79
SALKELD, JOHN, religious labors of, with T. C. ....	151
SERMON, a, by a New-England priest.....	60
SEWEL, WILLIAM, interprets for T. C. ....	91
SHARP, PETER, with T. C. in Barbadoes .....	260
STAFFORD, JUDGE, kindness of, to T. C. ....	54, 55
STANTON, DANIEL, travels with T. C.....	320, 321
STORY, THOMAS, travels with T. C. ....	66
SWEARING, not lawful for a Christian.....	250

	Page
T.	
TURNER, THOMAS, sails for America with T. C. ....	25
travels with T. C.....	30

W.	
WALDENSES, opinions of, respecting dancing.....	15
WATERSPOUT, a, seen by T. C.....	311
WEBB, ELIZABETH, sails with T. C.....	40
WORTHINGTON, DANIEL, accompanies T. C.....	247

## WRITINGS.

God's great Love to Mankind .....	409
An Exhortation to Youth and Others.....	430
A Loving Invitation to Young and Old in Holland and Elsewhere .....	436
Some Observations on Christ's Sermon on the Mount.....	451
Some truly tender Scruples of Conscience about that Form of Prayer called the Common Prayer .....	510
A Letter to a Friend in Ireland containing a Relation of some Sorrowful Instances of the Sad Effects of Intem- perance .....	524
A Letter to Aquila Paca.....	538
Christ's Kingdom Exalted.....	542
Some Considerations on the Call, Work, and Wages of the Ministers of Christ.....	574
Concerning Personal Election and Reprobation.....	590
A Letter to Cotton Mather .....	601
Free Thoughts communicated to Freethinkers, etc. ....	608

THE END.









